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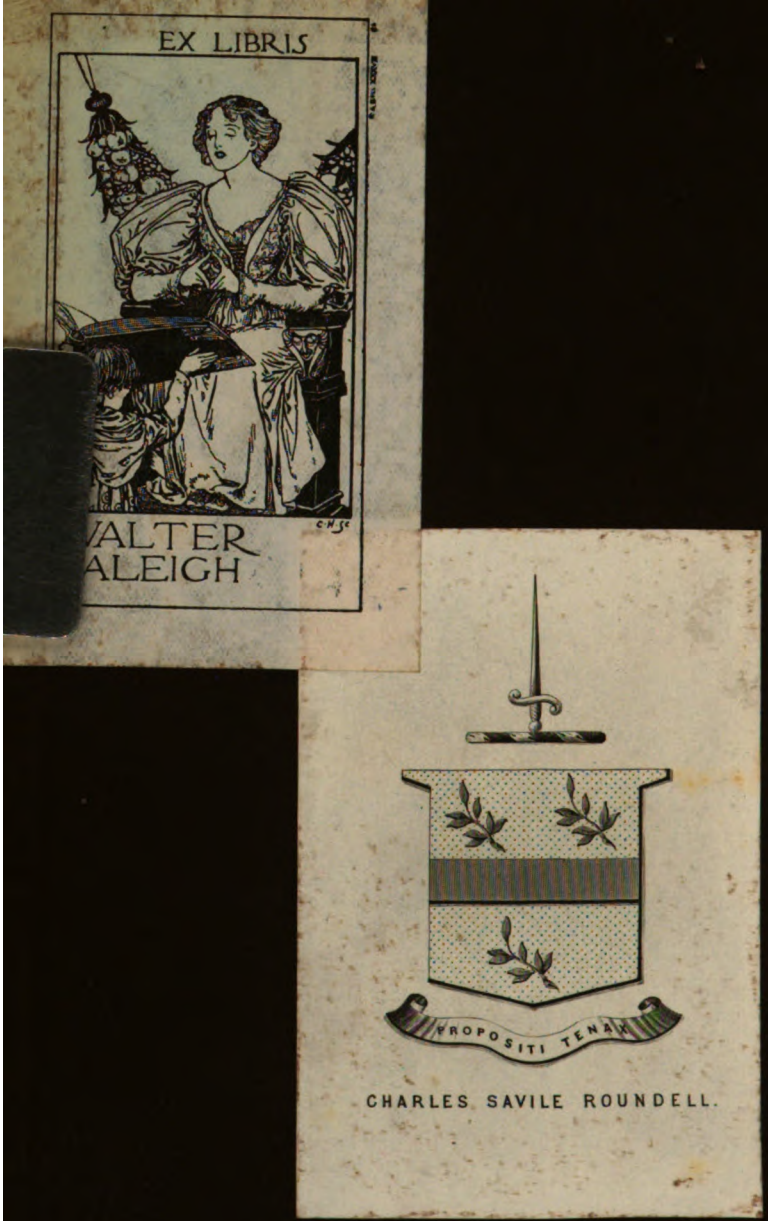
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The Apophthegmes of Erasmus.

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The Apophthegmes of Erasmus

Translated into English by Nicolas Udall.

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Preface.

THIS is a pleasant, gossipy book,—full of wise saws, if not of modern instances. It may be considered one of the earliest English jest books. The wit in it is not as startling as fireworks, but there is a good deal of grave, pleasant humour, and many of those touches of nature which make the whole world kin. It is very interesting to have not only the great thoughts of great men, but to see these men in their moments of leisure, when they unbend and come down to the level of ordinary mortals. Weak stomachs cannot bear too much of a good thing, and nothing is so tiresome as the everlasting preaching of very good and very wise people. We find that even in the palmy days of Greece the greatest orators had occasionally to recall the attention of their wearied hearers by some witty and humourous tale, such as the "Shadow of the Ass," (p. 84). ERASMUS complains of this same inattentiveness in his *Praise of Folly*, and says the preacher on such occasions would tell them a tale out of *Gesta Romanorum*, when they would "lyft vp theyr heads, stand vp, and geue good eare." Plenty of instances may be found here to prove a universal truth, that really great men are generally fond of a joke. It was sound advice, depend upon it, which the philosopher gave to the young man—"Be not anything over much." The familiar life of the ancients is

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also brought pleasantly before us, reminding us of the well-known saying that "there is a deal of human nature in a man."

Was it good nature in the Greeks that made them so patient under the coarse reproofs of Diogenes? If so, one cannot help wondering that, while they were so tolerant of him, they put Socrates to death, who was in all things so much wiser and better. Was it not that Diogenes was a crafty man, who was shrewd enough to see that it does not do to prove one's superiority too strongly? So, like our mediæval jesters, he mingled a little wit with a good deal of folly. He was fully aware of the great truth lately uttered by a bucolic friend here:—"To git on i' th' world, a man wants to appear like a fool, we'out bein' one. Men's desp'rately afread ov a clever fella'—they doant feel safe we 'im. Nice, soft-lookin' chaps alus git on best." So Diogenes made himself purposely dirty and contemptible. His coarse buffoonery was the traditional "tub" thrown to the whale (by-the-by, *do* they really throw tubs to whales?) to amuse it while the harpoon which was to pierce through its blubber was being prepared. And the Greek public, so fond of seeing and hearing new things, was amused accordingly,—and pierced in due course; and *very* barbed some of the harpoons were. Socrates scorned to stoop to this, and consequently had to pay the price usually paid by those whose virtue is a reproach to their neighbours.

This reprint is made from the second edition,—that of 1562. The two have been read very carefully together, and no difference discovered between them, except in the spelling. A facsimile of the first leaf of the 1542 edition is given, which will show how much this varies. The second was chosen principally because it is very much

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the rarer book. The reprint is literal; the only difference being that, to make it easier for the general reader, the contractions have been filled in, and the Greek quotations, which were exceedingly incorrect, have been, in most cases, put right. The Rev. E. Johnson, M.A., kindly consented to write a short sketch of the life of ERASMUS, and an Appendix of Notes and Illustrations has been added. The list of curious and unusual words might have been increased ten-fold; but, as in most cases a careful reading of the context will show sufficiently well their meaning, it was not necessary to make it larger.

When Nicolas Udall undertook to translate this work he was the right man in the right place. Probably no old English book so abounds with colloquialisms and idiomatic expressions. It is very valuable on that account. It has always been a favourite with the editor, and seeing that a fair copy of the original fetches £5 or £6 by auction, he thought 250 readers might be found who would be glad to have a reprint of it. The production of these antiquarian works in short numbers is necessarily very expensive, and after "trade allowances" and other deductions have been made, it is impossible in this instance there should be any profit; but it has been a labour of love, and the editor will be quite satisfied if he has succeeded in giving the slightest help to a wider knowledge of so fine and loveable a character as ERASMUS.

R. R.

BOSTON,
July 3, 1877.

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Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus.

IN the great market-place of the Dutch port whence ERASMUS derived his surname, there stands a bronze statue of the great scholar; and in the Breede Kerkstraat the house is pointed out in which he was born, bearing the inscription, *Haec est parva domus, magnus qua natus Erasmus.* With the exception of the fact of his place of birth and parentage, however, there is little that connects him with Holland; nothing in his character or history to remind us that he was a Dutchman. There was no flavour of peculiar nationality in his genius; his greatness is the common boast of lettered Europe. His name is linked by important associations with France, with England, with Italy, and with Germany. Our own country in particular, to which he owed the greatest benefits and sweetest friendships of his life, may claim the largest share in his reflected renown. But in truth he was a man without a home, in any fixed local sense; his outward history is the record of a series of wanderings to and fro, and changeful sojourns in various cities, and with various friends and patrons; but in the best society, that of men of learning and wit, he was always to be found; anywhere, within the free territory of the glorious Republic of Letters, he felt himself to be at home. He may well have made the motto his own:

Birth and parentage.

Not much to remind us that he was a Dutchman.

No fixed home, but was always to be found in the society of men of wit and learning.

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Ubi bene, ibi patria.

own: *Ubi bene, ibi patria.* Calling to mind his many travels and toils, together with the patient unconquerable temper which sustained him under them,—his penetrating insight into human nature, joined to his powerful rhetorical gift, we might discern something of a resemblance to the most intellectual of Homeric heroes, and term ERASMUS the Ulysses of Letters. Had his mind been naturally prone towards contracted views of religion and philosophy, his opportunities of intercourse with many of the best minds of Europe would have had a counteractive influence; but in fact his genius was naturally sympathetic, expansive, and catholic. His eminence in this quality of character was the more conspicuous, considering the harsh and narrowing tendency of the religious controversies of his time, which few minds in Europe were found great enough to resist.

May be styled the Ulysses of Letters.

Was a liberal man in illiberal times.

Misconceptions of his character.

It is open to question whether the character and spirit of ERASMUS, with reference to his services in the cause of learning and of religion, and more especially with reference to his attitude towards the contending parties at the Reformation, has been fairly understood. His memory, like the reflection of a star in troubled water, has come down to us somewhat confused by the great conflict of that epoch. There exists, probably, a general impression that he was a trimmer, possibly that he was a coward. It is known that he shook the ancient system of religion by means of his widely-circulated writings; and it has been generally believed, from the time of his contemporaries downwards, that his keen satire contributed as powerfully towards bringing about the Reformation as the fearless denunciations and open attacks of Luther.

His writings shook the ancient system of religion.

But

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But it is remembered that he never threw himself into the ranks of the Lutheran party, notwithstanding the eager solicitations of Luther himself, and his followers; that in the end he broke with the Reformers, and died as he had lived, in the communion of the Church of Rome.

But he died in the communion of the Church of Rome.

On the other hand, the Papal party were equally anxious to secure his literary services for the defence of the Church; and he so far yielded as to write a treatise on Free Will in opposition to the Reformers' doctrine of Divine grace. But like a dart flung from a lax and unwarlike hand, it failed to strike home:—

He wrote a treatise on Free Will.

> *"telumque imbelle sine ictu*
> *Conjecit rauco quod protinus aëre repulsum,*
> *Et summo clipei nequidquam umbone pependit;"*

while the author awaited in trepidation the unsheathing of Luther's terrible controversial sword, and after receiving the return thrust in the Reformer's work *De Servo Arbitrio*, he retired once for all from the ranks of conflict.

The result was that ERASMUS enjoyed the hearty confidence of neither party, and was regarded with considerable disfavour by both. The more ardent of the Reformers loaded him with moral reproaches; and Rome has placed some of his works in the *Index Expurgatorius*. And thus it has come to pass, that the mental image of the great scholar appears double or blurred in the popular conception of him, but not, we believe, altogether justly so, if an accurate estimate be taken of his character, and in relation to the epoch in which his lot was cast. To live in times when men's fierce and wrathful passions are stirred to their extremest

He pleased neither party.

He was unfortunate in living in troubled times.

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Luther was a spirit formed to live in stormy times.

tremest pitch is not a fortune to be envied. Yet there are spirits who thrive congenially in such times, and are thrown up into eminence by them: of such was Luther. But to those of a delicate, sensitively humane, or passionately peace-loving temper, such by way of parallel, as Lord Falkland, in the time of our own great civil struggle, the air of strife is baneful; and their reputation is likely to suffer, in proportion as they keep themselves free from the bigotry of partisanship. Their sigh of "Peace, peace!" is sweetness wasted on the desert air.* To state the truth in other words: there are two classes of great men: those whose greatness is related to their generation, those whose greatness is for all time; those whose work has a particular, and those whose work has an universal significance. So far as this division is valid, Luther ranks amongst the former, ERASMUS amongst the latter. The controversialist has his day: the true scholar is immortal.

Erasmus' greatness was for all time.

It will be the design of the present brief sketch to bring the figure of ERASMUS afresh into the light, to attempt some loving and not less just estimate of his spirit, and to offer some genuine, though slight, tribute to his services in the cause of civilization in Europe.

II.

Erasmus was pre-eminently a man of Letters.

ERASMUS was specifically, characteristically, and by eminence, a Man of Letters. And in so describing him, we separate him, and nobly distinguish him from the mere ecclesiastic, or the theologian. He was in early life a monk: he subsequently assumed the indelible orders of the priesthood; but who that is conversant

* Erasmus wrote *The Complaint of Peace* in early life, at Paris. It is significant of his constitutional temper.

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versant with his genial writings ever pictures him as monk or priest? As the conception of humanity dissolves all national and sectarian distinctions, so the conception of Letters dissolves all partialities of human thought and doctrine.

Erasmus was in early life a monk.

For what do "*Letters*" stand for but the record of the catholic experience of human mind, in its intercourse with self, with nature, with man, with the infinite and the unseen? The glory of literature—as contrasted with the lesser glories of Science, Philosophy, Theology—is her *humanity*. She counts nothing that is of man foreign to herself.

The glory of literature is her humanity.

To speak historically, the Land that we call Hellas or Greece, is the mother of Letters, as Palestine is the mother of Religion, to us Europeans.

Erasmus, and generally all the line of lettered men since the Revival of Learning, loved to invoke the Muses, and to profess themselves votaries and disciples of the Muses. These phrases, through long use, have become in our day somewhat out-worn; yet let us not forget the eternal truth and beauty which the glorious myth of the Muses enfolds. The birth of those nine sacred sisters, daughters of Zeus and Memory, instructs us that Art, and Religion, and Philosophy, and Science, and History,—all that is fair and great in human life—proceeds from the intercourse of mind with the Infinite, of man with God. Their choral dance around the fount of Helicon typifies the eternal harmony of Religion with Knowledge, Passion with Reason, which the bigotry of partial creeds is ever seeking to disturb. When we read, in Hesiod's noble hymn in their praise, of the untiring sweet sound which flows forth from their mouths, and the halls of Father Zeus the

A votary of the Muses.

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Mount Olympus.

the mighty Thunderer smiling at the delicate diffusive voice of the goddesses, with echoes from the snowy crests of Olympus, and halls of the immortals—we are reminded of the all-pervading charm of truth, beauty and love, in heaven and earth. And when mother Memory is described as bringing forth in the persons of her daughters,

λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων,

" of ills oblivion, rest from cares," we reflect how much of enduring solace we have found in books of treasured wit and wisdom in many hours of loneliness and sorrow.

Erasmus was a friend and favourite of the Muses.

ERASMUS, we repeat, was by natural bent and genius, a Man of Letters, in the noblest sense,—a friend and favourite of the Muses.

III.

The interest which attaches to his memory is due, in the larger measure, to his relation to the literary history of Europe, to his prominent services as a herald of the re-advent of Learning to the world. Following the favourite metaphor of historians and poets, which represents the resuscitation of knowledge and enquiry as the rising of a great light after ages of darkness, his figure, we may say, is suffused by the rosy dawn : he is like an angel standing in the sun.

His great services as a reviver of Learning.

In order to estimate his services to literature, let us take a rapid glance at the intellectual movements which preceded him.

It is difficult to picture to ourselves with sufficient strength of impression the blank and dreary condition of the general mind of Europe during more than five hundred

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hundred years from the dissolution of the Roman empire. It reminds one of a vast stretch of black fen, or of the boundless Russian steppe. Here and there a solitary specimen of culture, a scholastic prince like Charlemagne, Alfred, or St. Louis, an athletic thinker like Erigena, arises, to break the depressing monotony, but

Dreary condition of Europe after the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

> *"For leagues no other tree doth mark*
> *The level waste, the rounding grey."*

The track of the Saracens in the South was marked by a bright belt of culture, but its seeds were not widely diffused for the general enrichment of Europe. The Schoolmen, who inherited their knowledge, such as it was, of Aristotle through the Arab Averroes, were otherwise all ignorant of literature, and rendered no services whatever to general enlightenment. The splendid intellectual energies of Erigena, Roscellinus, Anselm, Abelard, Peter Lombard; of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others were kept in thraldom to the Church system. Thinkers could only enjoy their mental faculties on a much harsher tenure than the feudal ever was in political relations. The spirit of inquiry, rudely thrust back, on threat of the last ecclesiastical penalties, from all fields of genuine human and spiritual interest, was cramped within a narrow arena, and forced to exhaust itself in laborious idleness. The Schoolmen were simply a band of intellectual athletes, and their achievments were simply a series of gymnastic feats. "After three or four hundred years, they had not untied a single knot, nor added one uneqivocal truth to the domain of philosophy" (Hallam). It is important to note that one of ERASMUS's characteristics is his representative

The Schoolmen derived their learning from the Saracens.

A band of intellectual athletes, who exhibited gymnastic feats, but solved nothing.

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Erasmus led a reactionary movement against the Schoolmen.

presentative character, as leading a reactionary movement against the hybrid metaphysical theology of these his intellectual predecessors. We shall have occasion to recur to this subject presently, when speaking of his theological position.

Light has ever come from the East.

But hope for the culture of Europe was beginning to arise from another quarter. Light has ever come from the East, for the spiritual as well as for physical nature. And this spiritual phenonemon was once more to be repeated in history. Roughly speaking, we may date from the middle of the fourteenth century (A.D. 1350) the flow of Letters westward. Constantinople had been for several centuries the library of the world. There the Greek tongue, that "golden key," in the sonorous periods of Gibbon, "that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy," lived on as an oral speech. Yet learning, amidst the effete life of a decayed civilization remained in a state of congestion and uselessness. But the time was come when the wealth of ancient knowledge

Constantinople had been the library of the world.

> *"No more should rest in mounded heaps*
> *But smit with freer light should slowly melt*
> *In many streams to fatten lower lands."*

A steady flow of Greek scholars from Constantinople to Italy.

The intercourse between the churches of the East and the West at the time of the council of Florence occasioned a steady drift of Greek scholars from Constantinople to Italy, beginning with Barlaam, and Leontius Pilatus, the friends and tutors of Petrarch and Boccaccio, continued in Chrysoloras, Theodore of Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Arguropylos, and ending with Demetrius Chalcocondyles.

Among

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Among the pupils of the latter were our own countrymen, Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer; and in their persons an interesting link is found between the movement of Greek learning in Italy and its communication to our own country. ERASMUS, joining the English scholars at Oxford, received instruction in Greek from them, and proved an earnest ally in the effort to plant Greek learning in the universities. They had, as is well known, to encounter a senseless outburst of literary Toryism which has always had deep root in the old universities, in the party of the "Trojans."

Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer.

Erasmus studied Greek at Oxford.

From an early age it appears that ERASMUS was conscious of the surpassing value of the Grecian classics, and was seized with an enthusiasm for the study. He felt that the revival of letters meant above all the revival of living Greece to breathe her spirit of power and beauty again over the withered intellect of Europe. In Paris, he utters a passionate wish for money, that he might buy books first and clothes afterwards. To know the great Roman poets and philosophers, whose more familiar language the Church had preserved in her services, was not enough. He must ascend the stream, and drink of the fount. "The Latins, he said, "had only narrow rivulets, the Greeks pure and copious rivers; and their streams were of gold."

His great esteem for Grecian literature.

His industry in exploring the treasures of ancient literature, and acquainting himself not only with their contents of thought, but with the force of words, and with shades of meaning, must have been something simply Herculean, when we recollect that lexicons and grammars and editions did not exist in his day. But a memory of the literary kind, strongly tenacious by nature,

His industry in acquiring knowledge under difficulties very surprising

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Erasmus' Greek Testament a noble monument of zeal and patience.

nature, was doubtless developed into extraordinary power through the enforced habit of self-reliance. His edition of the New Testament is, with reference to the then state of scholarship, a noble monument of his zeal and patience. To collate the various accessible MSS. for the Greek Text, to amend the corrupt Vulgate version, to examine with scrupulous care every verse and every word, to complete the explanation by annotations and paraphrases, to bestow the toil of two or three days occasionally on a single expression: all this implies a task of immense severity, of which he could not but himself speak in the most impressive way.

Perhaps we shall not be wrong in naming his Testament as his noblest contribution—whether we look at the spirit, the execution, or the design of the work—to the literary and religious life of Europe.

General survey of his literary services.

Turning to his general writings, which fill nine or ten ponderous folios, we may take a brief bird's eye view of their subjects under a few different heads, by way of reminding ourselves of the character and extent of his services. In the field of classical literature, he was a "gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff"; he devoted himself to the humble but most useful employment of providing conduits through which the streams of ancient wisdom might flow to the minds of those who had begun to feel the new thirst for knowledge. We find among his works translations or notes on portions of Lucian, of Galen, of Euripides, of Ovid, of Plutarch, of Socrates, of Xenophon; while in his *Adages* and *Epigrams*, as well as the following *Apophthegms* we have rich gatherings from the oft-gleaned harvest of Greek and Roman letters. But the name-

His translations.

less

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less spirit of noble antiquity, the taste, the judgment, the harmony of feeling which we have long been taught to call classical, pervades all his writings. They are seasoned with Attic salt; or sprinkled with Heliconian dew.

The true classic taste and feeling pervades all his writings.

A further great service to literature and theology was rendered in his editions of the Fathers. One of his chief objects, as he explains in his "Ratio verae Theologiae," was to explode that false and absurd system of exegesis of Scripture which prevailed amongst the Schoolmen, and which indeed still survives in the popular preaching of our day,—by which a verse or phrase torn from its context, and historical connexion, is made to yield any sense that may suit the fancy of the expositor. He points to Origen in particular as exemplifying the true historical method, which, applied in our time with fuller and ever-widening knowledge, is constantly throwing fresh light on the religious life and opinions of mankind. These editions of the Fathers—including Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, Irenæus, Augustine, Chrysostom, with fragments of Basil, Lactantius, Epiphanius, Cyprian, Athanasius, constitute another of the toils of this Hero of Letters.

His editions of the Fathers.

Some of the false and absurd methods the Schoolmen yet survive in the popular preaching of the day.

In his works on practical religion, ERASMUS presents himself in another aspect, that of the ethical and Christian teacher. This is not the place in which to give any detailed account of this branch of his life-work; it must be sufficient to name in passing the "Institute of a Christian Prince," the "Handbook of the Christian soldier," the "Institute of Christian Matrimony," the "Christian widow," the "Mode of Prayer to God," the "Preparation for Death" (written in his closing days), the "Expostulation of Jesus with perishing

His works on Practical Religion.

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ing man," as books breathing a pure and sober piety, devoid of the morbid ascetic enthusiasm of the "Imitation,"—teaching men how to live, not out of the world, but nobly in it.

His Praise of Folly, Colloquies, Letters, &c.

Passing over a multitude of polemical and controversial tracts, which had for the most part but an ephemeral value, there remain as his more original and characteristic literary productions, his "Enconium of Folly," his "Colloquies" and his "Letters." To them may be added his treatise on "The mode of writing letters." In these diversions from heavier work, we trace the "style which is of the man"; the man himself, in the peculiarity of his temperament, genius, mental habit, is revealed.

His great value as a delineator of the scenes and manners of every-day life.

Lively pictures of human nature, in its many familiar types, through all the scenes of everyday life—courting of lovers, prattling of women, discussions of married life, dry chat of old men, and the like—live in bright unfaded colours on the favourite pages. Erasmus by literary art did for ordinary human life and manners that which his great countryman, Teniers did for them a century later by pictorial art. They have imparted a noble interest to things that we are apt to call common; they have taught us to see that even vulgarity has its affinity to the beautiful. The immortality of these playful works of our great scholar furnish also another illustration of a principle established in the history of art, that those works are often most living and enduring which cost the worker least of conscious effort, flung off it may be in the careless ease of some leisure hour. It is an interesting fact that the "Encomium of Folly," of its kind a master-piece, was composed on horseback during one of his journeys in Italy. Unlike

The most popular works are often those which are done with the least effort.

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like Robert Stephens, who likewise used his saddle for a study, while preparing his edition of the New Testament, ERASMUS chose to give the rein to his lighter and gayer fancies when on the road; and the result is that famous *jeu d' esprit* which charms the reader's hour of relaxation no less than his own. Praise of Folly.

IV.

When we examine his literary character, with a view to fix its most salient features in our mind, we are struck at once by his keen satirical vein. It was this that gave a zest to his popular writings, and caused him to be so intensely dreaded as an antagonist, hated as a censor, and courted as an ally. The monks and schoolmen never forgave him the ridicule which he poured on their impostures and follies. His satirical vein gave a zest to his popular writings.

Mockery has always been a power in matters human and divine, from the time when Momus was turned out of Olympus for laughing at Vulcan's workmanship, and at Venus' creaking sandals; and Thersites' humpback felt the weight of Ulysses' sceptre for scoffing at the princes of the Greek host. The genius of mockery and fun has had an important place in literature from its earliest beginning. The traveller who listens to the interchange of raillery among the peasants of the South, more remarkable for ready wit than for refinement, similar to that which passes from lip to lip amongst the lower orders of every age and country, little suspects that here is the original soil out of which the splendid plant of Greek comedy grew and flourished. Aristophanes, the great representative of that comedy, wielded a vast power of mockery against the democratic institutions of Athens, and against the person Importance of mockery and fun.

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son and philosophy of the great bare-footed teacher. There is a famous saying of one of our philosophic writers, that "ridicule is the test of truth"; one more searching, it may be added, than can be found on the anvil of argument, or in the fire of persecution. Touch the most imposing names and images with a few drops of the solvent of satire; all are emptied of their solemnity and significance; greatness becomes instantaneously dwarfed; virtue is made to appear play-acting; the monarch exchanges his crown for the fool's cap and bells; the wrinkled grave visage of the sage puts on the expression of a grinning ape. Satire is a weapon to be dreaded, and to be used sparingly in the social commerce of life.

Ridicule, the test of truth.

Several species of ridicule.

But there are several species of mockery: there is that which proceeds from a soured or vicious temper, which delights in inflicting wounds; there is that which is genial, human, sympathetic, springing from hearts that have a kindness for human nature, and a kindness all the tenderer because of its very weaknesses. There is the satire of the moralist and the preacher, typified in Juvenal and Persius, scorching and indignant, but designed to cauterize the wounds and sores of society; and the satire of the sceptic and man of the world, indulged in as an intellectual pleasure with no ulterior apparent object, such as that of Lucian or Montaigne.

The satire of Erasmus was genial.

ERASMUS represents a genial and wholesome variety of the satirical spirit. His raillery, while in turn it strikes all classes, could be offensive to none but bad or stupid men. He resembles Horace in this, and to him might be applied the lines of Persius on Horace:

Omne

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Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit.

Our laugh is not a bitter laugh.

He makes men laugh at their follies in spite of themselves. We are never made to feel that he is treating us with the haughty air of conscious superiority, speaking down to us from some height of stoical virtue or ascetic piety; he is the companion and friend who would gently lead us in the paths of right living. There is a sweetness and purity of ethical tone, an elevation and simplicity of religious spirit, which impart to his writings a far higher value than that which belongs to their power to amuse and entertain. In the next generation he was followed, on a similar line of satire against the religionists and the religion of the age, by Rabelais and Montaigne; but the two great French masters of mockery were devoid of those higher spiritual characteristics which were conspicuous in their predecessor.

His satire differed from the satire of Rabelais and Montaigne.

His satirical vein deserves special mention, not only from its interest in a personal and literary, but also in a general and historical point of view. With regard to the Reformation, the common saying was that ERASMUS laid the egg, and Luther hatched it. Yet ERASMUS never directly assailed either the theological or historical foundations of the Church of Rome as an ecclesiastical system. There is no evidence that he ever contemplated its overthrow as either possible or desirable; on the contrary, his temper in relation to ancient institutions was eminently conservative, and he was extremely timid of radical change. But his keen sarcastic intelligence, while exposing the vices of churchmen's lives, or their vagaries of theological thought, indirectly brought the system of which they were

His exposure of the vices and follies of Churchmen helped forward the Reformation.

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It is not easy to distinguish between opposition levelled against men and against institutions with which they are associated.

were the representatives into disparagement; for it is never easy to distinguish between opposition that is levelled against men, and against institutions with which they may be associated. And from this point of view there was undoubtedly great truth in the popular saying concerning ERASMUS' part in the Reformation.

V.

His relation to the controversies of his time.

It is necessary, in order to bring the man more fully before us, to say something more concerning his relations to theology, religion, and the great controversy of his times. Two forms of Christianity can clearly be distinguished, from the epoch when the Church had attained a complete organization, and councils of its chief officers began to be held, in order to ascertain its mind on points of doctrine or practice, and to give definite expression to that mind for the direction of the faithful. There is ecclesiastical Christianity, and primitive Christianity; the Christianity of *dogma*, or that decreed by the church; and the Christianity of the New Testament and of Christ Himself. There can be no question of the distinction of these two forms, nor of the immense chasm of divergence by which for ages they have been parted asunder, and are still so parted asunder in the midst of Christendom at the present day.

Ecclesiastical Christianity and primitive Christianity.

Dogmatic Christianity places assent to Church authority before the practice of the Christian code of morals.

Dogmatic Christianity permits no challenge of its primary hypotheses; it insists on intellectual submission first, and only permits, and that to a very limited extent, inquiry afterwards. It makes belief, or rather passive assent to that which church authority has decreed to be truth, a more momentous duty than the practice

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practice of the Christian code of morals. It places ethics secondary to metaphysics, it disparages the life to exalt the creed; it denies that right and Christian conduct can flow from any source but from those definite beliefs which it has stamped with its sanction.

It disparages the life to exalt the creed.

The Christianity, on the other hand, which seeks the sources of its life in the original teaching of the New Testament, and in communion with the spirit of Christ Himself, inverts this order. It holds the life, the spirit, the temper, to be the all-important matter; and leaves opinion and belief, in their infinite variety, to be determined according to the knowledge and capacity of each individual.

The Christianity of Christ holds the life, the spirit, the temper to be all-important.

To ERASMUS belongs the honour of having been one of the first in modern times to grasp this view of Christianity. He speaks of it as a "contact with the living, breathing image of Christ." In his *Paraclesis* he exhorts to the study of what he terms the "philosophy of Christ," as something common as the sunlight, and equally suited to all, from the highest to the lowest, and in a noble passage pleads for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues:—

Erasmus one of the first in modern times to teach this truth.

"Christ wishes His mysteries to be as widely published as possible. I wish even the most ignorant woman to read the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. Paul. I wish that they were translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood, not only by the Scotch and Irish, but even by the Turks and Saracens. I greatly wish that the ploughman should sing some of the verses at his plough-tail, that the weaver should sing them while throwing his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile a tedious journey with the stories contained in them."

He wished the Bible to be translated into all languages and read by everyone.

On

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The practical element of Christianity of far more importance than the intellectual and dogmatic.

On the precedence of the practical and ethical element of Christianity over the merely intellectual and dogmatic, the following passage is highly significant. And it will probably reveal his whole theological position as fully for our present purpose as if we were to fill these pages with similar citations :—

"Is no man," he asks, "to be admitted to grace who does not know how the Father differs from the Son, and both from the Spirit? Or how the nativity of the Son differs from the procession of the Spirit? Unless I have a pure heart, unless I put away envy, hate, pride, avarice, lust, I shall not see God. But a man is not damned because he cannot tell whether the Spirit has one principle or two. Has he the fruits of the Spirit? that is the question. Is he patient, kind, good, gentle, modest, temperate, chaste? Inquire if you will, but do not define. True religion is peace, and we cannot have peace unless we leave the conscience unshackled on obscure points on which certainty is impossible. We hear now of questions being referred to the next Œcumenical Council; better a great deal refer them to dooms-day. Time was when a man's faith was looked for in his life, not in the Articles which he professed. Necessity first brought Articles upon us, and ever since we have refined and refined till Christianity has become a thing of words and creeds. Articles increase, sincerity vanishes away; contention grows hot, and charity grows cold. Then comes in the civil power, with stake and gallows, and men are forced to profess what they do not believe, to pretend to love what in fact they hate, and to say that they understand what in fact has no meaning for them."

Christianity should be shown in a man's life, and not in his belief.

Necessity first brought Articles upon us.

It

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In what sense was Erasmus a Sceptic?

It is sometimes asserted that ERASMUS was a sceptic in religion. If it be meant that he questioned the Divine origin or substance of Christianity, no particle of proof can be alleged, we believe, in support of such a suggestion. But in the genuine philosophic sense of the word, a sceptic he was, just as Saint Paul and Augustine were sceptics. His mind was, in other words, of that highest order, which contemplates the facts of life in their largest relations, discerns the partiality of all opinions, the relativity of all knowledge, the limited value of any controversial aspect of truth, and fastens upon the unchangeable and eternal elements of Faith, Hope, and Love, which constitute the immortal life of the soul and of humanity. ERASMUS was sceptical of church authority, and of the value and reality of the methods of church theology, but in the religion of Christ, if the work and spirit of his life be good evidence, he was a loyal and enthusiastic believer.

His scepticism was of church authority, and not of the religion of Christ.

Erasmus and Luther did not agree, because their characters and dispositions were totally different

His relations to Luther and the Reforming party were not happy, and they have left something of a shade on his memory. But the truth is that he was drawn by the current of circumstances into a false position rather than was betrayed into it by any grave moral fault of his own. It was his fate to awaken anticipations in the minds of eager partisans, which it was not within the scope of his particular faculty to realize; for the spirit of the partisan was no part of his character. It is some disadvantage to his reputation that he was thrown into association with one so utterly dissimilar in character as Luther. Compare Holbein's fine portraits of these illustrious men, the contrast could not be more vividly expressed between the

And it was a disadvantage that he was thrown into association with one so dissimilar.

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The man of action and the man of contemplation.

the man of action and the man of contemplation; Luther, full of that direct force and impulsive energy which marks the leaders of great movements; ERASMUS, with that delicacy and sweetness of feature and expression which denotes one unfitted for the more rude and brutal warfare of the world. Luther had immense power of intellect within a limited range; ERASMUS was of comprehensive genius. He could and did appreciate the best in Luther; while Luther was incapable of understanding the peculiarity of ERASMUS' temper and intellectual habit. Precision and definiteness of thought were indispensible to Luther's constitution; and we have seen how strongly ERASMUS deprecated definition of the mysteries of religion. That very scholastic method of metaphysical discussion, the extravagancies of which ERASMUS had ridiculed in his "Encomium of Folly," was reproduced by Luther in his controversy with Rome. Those famous oppositions between "grace" and "free-will," between "justification by faith" and "justification by works," which have produced so much of clashing and of noise in the world, from which the echoes have not yet died away—what are they in truth but idle logomachies, on which the force and ingenuity of the mind wastes itself without fruit to knowledge and with detriment to piety? One enormous fallacy in these controversies lay in assuming that truth must necessarily lie with one of two definite alternatives, which were mutually exclusive; whereas the Christian consciousness of the simplest person teaches him that there is a third position, a mean between two extremes; where truth practically lies. Another fallacy lay in the attempt to define the undefineable, to formulate those vague

Luther's intellect more limited than that of Erasmus.

Luther's metaphysical discussion had much of the style of the old Schoolmen which Erasmus had so ridiculed.

An exact definition of truth not always possible.

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vague impressions and beliefs which count for so much in the activity of our life, into propositions and arguments. ERASMUS, with his tact for language, had a juster sense of the limits imposed by words on thought, and of the limits by which thought itself was bounded; he saw that such a principle as justification by faith had simply a provisional and an occasional value; and that it was a mistake alike of philosophy and of exegesis to exalt it into a primary or absolute truth of the Christian religion. But ERASMUS' common-sense views were utterly intolerable to the great champion of the Reformation, whose whole soul was wrapped up in his favourite theological definitions.

Erasmus and his opinion of justification by faith.

In his later years, he, in common with his friend Sir Thomas More, passed from coldness towards the Lutherans into positive aversion from them. As happens with all new popular movements, a variety of malcontents helped to swell the Lutheran ranks, many of whom were actuated by far other than religious motives, and whose character was frequently dangerous to society. It appears that ERASMUS, with his illustrious English friend, a man perhaps of force of original intellect even greater than his own,—thought that in the popular religious effervescence of the time lay a menace to the order or even to the very existence of society. Here was an illustration of that timidity of temper and distrust of the multitude which, as in Hobbes and others, has often been found united with the philosophic habit of mind.

Why, as he grew older, his dislike to Luther and his disciples increased.

It is somewhat amusing to note the fact that there are good people who appear to be annoyed that ERASMUS did not offer himself for the crown of martyrdom. There were some among his contemporaries who had the

Anxiety of some of the friends of Erasmus to see him receive the crown of mar-

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tyrdom, and the curious reason assigned by one of them; but which failed to convince Erasmus.

the same feeling. Albert Dürer in particular, told him that he was a little old manikin, whose life being no longer of much value, could well be spared. This curious mixed feeling of desire to see another purchase honour by means of suffering, and to enjoy heroic sensations by proxy, might be a curious phenomenon for study and analysis. ERASMUS, however, was not disposed to gratify this ambition of his friends on his behalf; and there was surely nothing strange in this. A good man is not bound to expose his life, while in the pursuit of truth, to violence and injustice; he should keep his life as long as it can be kept with honour. Martyrdom appears to be the destiny of a peculiar order of minds; there are men, says Emerson, who from their cradles "take a bee-line to the rack and the stake." Recalling the example of the Founder of our faith, and also that of Socrates, we are reminded of a sublime order of spirits who have seen in the voluntary surrender of life for truth's sake, an act necessary to the completion and illustration of their life and character, and have gone forward to their doom with a rapturous sense of victory. But martyrdom is a vocation; and what if a man thrusts himself upon it uncalled, only to earn a barren meed of renown? The remarks of ERASMUS with reference to the burning of his acquaintance, the intrepid Louis de Berquin at Paris, show that he did not feel himself to be of the martyr's vocation, perhaps that he did not understand it. He insists strongly on the folly of rashness, on the necessity of mixing caution with courage, advises fighting from a tower, and not coming to close quarters, and so on. There is a coldness here which makes a somewhat unfavourable impression; but from the

Martyrdom the destiny of a peculiar order of minds.

Erasmus taught the necessity of mixing caution with courage.

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the charge of not being willing for martyrdom he does not need to be defended. He had good reasons, like all of us, for loving life; and there was nothing that made it dishonourable for him to retain it. If our preceding estimate of his mind and opinions be at all just,—there was no idea, no abstract principle to which he was attached, and in behalf of which he could be required to shed his blood. Was he to die, he might have asked, for a misconception? Or was he by rash want of circumspection, to throw himself into the hands of stupid and malignant fools, who would have made him the victim of their spite and revenge? It is the duty of a good man, as an oriental sage has said, to try to live as long he as can, provided he is convinced his life is useful to society. ERASMUS might justly apply that principle to his own circumstances. The spirit of our holy religion demands of every one of us in some form the sacrifice of self for the good of humanity; but "every man in his own order." While none would grudge the noble martyr his crown, who has achieved his sacrificial destiny in one brief hour of agony, let not one leaf be taken from that of the life-long toiler, whose exertions and sufferings may have been a daily dying, protracted to his latest conscious hour.

He had good reasons for loving life.

It is the duty of a good man to live as long as he can, especially if his life is useful.

The present work of ERASMUS consists of a free rendering of the *Apophthegmata* ascribed to Plutarch, enriched by explanatory notes from his own hand. The old Greek schoolmaster and friend of Trajan was evidently a favourite and congenial author with our great scholar. Concerning Plutarch's "Morals," he puts the following sentiment into the mouth of one of the speakers in the *Convivium religiosum*: "I find in them so much of purity, that it appears to me like a prodigy, that

Account of the Apophthegmata.

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Erasmus was a great admirer of Plutarch.

that such evangelical thoughts should have entered the mind of an ethnic man." And here it may be appropriate to introduce another beautiful passage from the same Colloquy; which does honour to his character, and reveals his religious position as what we should now-a-days term a broad churchman: One of the guests, in the course of a religious discussion, being about to introduce, with apology, a citation from a "profane" author, the host replies:

Heathen wisdom and piety.

"Nay! nothing whatever that is pious, and conduces to good manners should be called profane. To the sacred Scriptures indeed the first authority is everywhere due; but nevertheless I sometimes meet with certain things either said by the ancients, or written by ethnics, even by poets, so chastely, so purely, so divinely, that I cannot but persuade myself that some good divinity swayed their minds when they wrote them. And perchance the spirit of Christ is more widely diffused than we interpret. And many there are in the company of the saints who are not in our catalogue. I confess my feeling amongst friends: I cannot read Cicero's book *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, *De Tusculanis quaestionibus*, without now and again pressing my lips to the parchment, and doing reverence to that holy mind, which was breathed upon by a heavenly divinity. On the other hand, when I read the teachings of our moderns concerning the œconomy or ethics of the state, good heaven! how cold they are compared with the former; nay, they do not appear to feel what they write; so that I would more readily suffer the whole of Scotus, with a few more like him, to perish, than the books of one Cicero, or Plutarch. Not that I would condemn the others

Probably the spirit of Christ is more widely diffused than we think.

The high morality of Cicero.

Rather perish the whole of Duns Scotus than one book of Cicero.

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others altogether, but because I feel the latter make me a better man; while I rise from the reading of the former, I know not how, more coldly disposed towards true virtue, but more excited to contention. Therefore do not fear to bring forward the passage, whatever it is."

Because the latter make us better men.

The noble passage from the *De Senectute*, in which Cato takes a retrospect of life, comparing it to a sojourn in an inn, and utters his longing to depart to the society of the blessed, is then quoted and discussed; also the words of the dying Socrates to Crito,

"Whether God will approve my works I know not; certainly I have earnestly endeavoured to please Him. And I have a good hope that he will accept my endeavours."

"Truly," says another speaker, "an admirable spirit in one who knew not Christ and the sacred Scriptures. Indeed, when I read things of this kind from such men, I can hardly restrain myself from saying, *Sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis!*"

Sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis.

"And I," rejoins another, "frequently cannot forbear to hold happy augury of the holy soul of Maro and of Flaccus."

It has been said of Plutarch's *Lives* that it is "the book of those who can nobly think, and dare and do." In a similar spirit to that in which the Lives were written, the present collection of "utterances," or sententious sayings has been selected from the treasure-house of ancient tradition. Work of this kind appears to have afforded a species of revelry to ERASMUS. His preface is a very characteristic piece of writing, and is full of interesting suggestion. There are one or two points in it to which we may for a moment refer.

The preface of the Apophthegms.

The

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The genesis of Proverbs.

The natural history, as it might be termed, of proverbs or apophthegms, forms a curious subject of study. Very happily a living poet has described them as

> *"Jewels five words long*
> *That on the stretch'd forefinger of all time*
> *Sparkle for ever;"*

Very difficult to trace them to their authors.

and indeed it is seldom easy to fix their exact origin, to trace them to their matrix. They resemble winged seeds which find an accidental lodgment here or there, on any projecting spot of earth that may offer. As in the present day current popular jests are constantly "fathered" upon conspicuous humourists, quite guiltless of their birth, so it has always been. For example, Cicero, like ERASMUS and other great men, was given to the weakness of punning; but he was probably the real author of very few of the great crop of puns which are said to have sprung from his talk. And in like manner with serious and witty sayings: it is impossible to find the real originator of the vast majority of them; for it can be shown that they have been ascribed in variant forms, and at different times, to a number of different men. All are familiar with Lord Russell's notable definition of a proverb as "the wisdom of many and the wit of one;" but the history of the matter would appear to show that the clear-cut form of the saying, through which like a coin it becomes fitted for general currency on the lips of society has itself been the result of time, and the shaping effort of many minds. The printer of this book has supplied some illustrations of this point in his notes on the English of Udall's translation. The subject is interesting, not only from an antiquarian, but also from a psychological point of view.

Most of them gradually improved and polished into form.

In

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In the latter part of his preface ERASMUS has a lively defence of laughter and fun as a relaxation in the midst of serious studies, and a means of preserving a healthy tone of the mind. He is a thorough believer in Horace's maxim :—

Erasmus' love of humour.

Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem :
Dulce est desipere in loco.

The whole of this is excellent, and illustrates faithfully the temper of the man. He and his friend More were dearly fond of their joke; and one cannot but feel, in reading the Colloquies, or the Praise of Folly, that there must have been a deep fund of mental vigour, and vast capacity of vital enjoyment in the man who could laugh so much and so often, whether the jest were good or bad. ERASMUS was undoubtedly richly gifted with that humour which is said to be the unfailing attribute of genius; and it leaves a charm as of sunlight on his memory and character.

Erasmus and More were both dear lovers of a joke.

Here our slight task is at an end. We have formed our estimate of the man and his work in a spirit of sympathy and respect, not we trust under any bias of preconception and prejudice; believing that in order to appreciate and criticise greatness, we must first admire it.

In the present day, when there appears to be again a movement of men's minds towards antiquity, and literature and art are once more receiving refreshment from its inexhaustible springs, the name of ERASMUS should supply a stimulus to every earnest scholar, and lover of human progress. When he engraved on the seal-ring presented to him by his pupil, the young archbishop of St. Andrews, the motto, *Concedo nulli*, it was no vainglorious boast, but the expression of that passionate

The name of Erasmus should be a stimulus to every scholar and lover of progress.

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sionate desire to *excel* which is the secret of all greatness of spirit and achievement. He has received his reward in the gratitude of posterity. And standing beneath the bronze statue in his native city we may fancy we hear his spirit murmur,

Monumentum exegi aere perennius.

E. JOHNSON.

BOSTON,
JULY 5, 1877.

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APOPHTHEGMES,

that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie and sentencious sayinges, of certain Emperours, Kynges, Capitaines, Philosophers and Oratours, as well Grekes, as Romaines, bothe verye pleasaunt & profitable to reade, partely for all maner of persones, & especially Gentlemen.

First gathered and compiled in Latine by the right famous clerke Maister Erasmus of Roterodame.

And now translated into Englyshe by Nicolas Udall.

Excusum typis Ricardi Graston.
1542.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

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Facsimile of the first leaf of N. Udall's preface, from the 1542 edition.

NICOLAS VDALL VNTO the gentle and honeſte herted readers well to fare.

FOraſmuchas the autour ſelf in his preface here enſuyng woeth at large declare the nature, the purpoſe, and the vſe of Apophthegmes, to make of the ſame matter double inculcation ſhould bee (as me ſemeth) bothe on my parte and behalf a thing ſuperfluous, and alſo a tedious dullyng to the reader. It ſhall therefore at this preſēte tyme be ſufficiēte to admonyſhe you gentle readers, that of the whole werke of Apophthegmes by the right excellente clerke Eraſmus: for the moſte pleſaunte and the ſame moſte honeſte, profitable, & holſome readyng of allmaner perſones, & in eſpeciall of noble menne collected and digeſted into eight volumes, I haue thought better with twoo of the eight to miniſtre vnto you a taſte of this bothe delectable and fruiteful recreacion, then by ſuppreſſyng it vntil ꝑ whole werke might bee perfectely abſolued and finyſched, to defraude you of ſo many goodly hiſtories, ſo many high pointes of counſaill, ſo many notable preceptes of wyſedome, ſo greate a noumbre of philoſophicall leſſōs, ſuche vnekymable treaſure of morall doctrine, as may of this litle portion in ꝑ meane tyme with ſmall labour & incomparable delite, conſolate and ſolace of mynd, bee perceiued, gathered, and acquired. And although vpon conſiderations, (at a more propice tyme herafter by godes grace to bee declared) I haue bē ſo bolde with myne autour, as to make the firſte booke &

ſecounde, whiche he maketh thirde and fourth. Yet in theſe twoo preſente volumes whiche ye ſee here ſette foorth, I haue laboured to diſcharge the dueties of a tranſlatour, that is, keepyng and folowyng the ſenſe of my booke, to interprete and turne the Latine into Engliſhe with as muche grace of our vulgare toung, as in my ſlendre power and knowelage hath lyen: not omittyng ne leauyng paſſe, either any one of all the Apophthegmes as thei ſtand in ordre (except twoo or three at ꝑ moſte beeyng of ſuche ſorte as honeſtee perſwaded me, to bee better paſſed ouer, then reherſed or ſpoken of,) openyng any Greke or Latine verſe or woorde, wherof ꝑ pith and grace of the ſaiyng dependeth. Wherein I deſire the vnlearned readers not to bee offended for that I haue in many places entremixed Greke and Latine with the Engliſhe. For finall thynges that I haue already heretofore or hereafter ſhall ſette foorth, I haue an eſpeciall regarde vnto young ſcholaces and ſtudentes, vnto whom it is not poſſible to bee expreſſed, what great vtilitee, benefite & knowelage doeth redound of conferryng one ſtraunge language with an other. Neither is it to bee doubted, but that ſuche as are towardes the diſciplines of good litterature in diuerſe tounges, maye of ſuche dooynges as this, picke out as muche vtilitee and furtheraunce of their ſtudies, as the vnlearned ſhall take pleaſure, and fruite of the Engliſhe for their vſe. Whoſo careth not for the Latine maye paſſe it ouer and ſatisfie hymſelf with the Engliſhe. Who paſſeth not on the Greke, maie ſembleably paſſe it ouer, and make as though he ſee none ſuche. Ther is in this behalf no mannes labour loſt but myne, and yet not that all loſt neither, if my good zele & honeſt

entente

¶ NICOLAS VDALL VNTO the gentle and honeste *hearted readers well to fare.*

Forasmoche as the aucthour self in his preface here ensuyng, dooeth at large declare the nature, the purpose, and the vse of Apophthegmes, *to make of the same matter double inculcacion, should bee (as me semeth) bothe on my parte and behalfe a thing superfluous and also a tedious dullyng to the reader. It shall therefore at this presente tyme bee sufficiente, to admonishe you gentle readers, that of the whole werke of* Apophthegmes *by the right excellente clerke* Erasmus*: for the moste pleasaunt and thesame moste honeste, profitable, and holsome readyng of all maner persones and in especiall of noble men, collected and digested into eighte volumes, I haue thought better with two of the eight to minister vnto you a taste of this, bothe delectable and fruitefull recreacion, then by suppressyng it, vntill the whole werke might be perfectly absolued and finished, to defraude you of so many goodly histories, so many high poinctes of counsaill, so many notable preceptes of wisedome, so greate a nomber of Philosophicall lessons, soche vnestimable treasure of morall doctrine, as maie of this little porcion in the meane time, with smal labour and incomparable delite, comforte and solace of mind, be perceiued, gathered, and acquired. And although vpon consideracions (at a more propice tyme hereafter by gods grace to*

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be declared) I haue been so bold with mine aucthour, as to make the first booke and seconde, whiche he maketh third and fowerth. Yet in these twoo present volumes, whiche ye see here set foorthe, I haue laboured to discharge the duetee of a translatour, that is, keping and folowing the sense of my booke, to interprete and tourne the Latine into Englishe, with as moche grace of our vulgare toung as in my slender power and knowlege hath lien: not omittyng ne lettyng passe, either any one of al the Apophthegmes, *as thei stand in order (excepte twoo or three at the moste, beyng of soche sorte as honestee perswaded me, to be better passed ouer, then rehersed or spoken of) orels any Greke or Latine verse or worde, whereof the pith and grace of the saiyng dependeth Wherein I desire the vnlearned readers not to be offended, for that I haue in many places entermixed Greke and Latine with the Englishe. For, in all thinges that I haue alreadie heretofore, or hereafter shall set foorthe, I haue an especiall regarde vnto young scholares & studentes, vnto whom it is not possible to be expressed what greate vtilitee, benefite and knowlege doeth redounde, of conferring one straunge language with an other. Neither is it to bee doubted, but that soche as are towardes the disciplines of good litterature in diuerse tounges, maie of soch doynges as this, picke out as moche vtilitee and furtheraunce of their studies, as the vnlearned shall take pleasure, and fruite of the Englishe for their vse. Whoso careth not for the Latin maie passe it ouer, & satisfie himself with the Englishe. Who passeth not on the Greke, maie sembleably passe it ouer, and make as though he see none soche. There is in this behalf no mannes labour loste but mine, and yet not that all loste neither, if*

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if my good zele and honest entente, to doe good to all sortes, bee in good part interpreted and accepted. Let the vnlearned readers somewhat beare with young studentes, as the learned muste and will doe with theim. For as the one parte maie thinke it moch superfluous, to finde Latin and Greke in an Englishe boke, so the learned haue no neede of certain annotacions (whiche I haue in places not a fewe entermingled, partly to supply and redubbe that wanteth of the whole werk, and partly to geue necessarie light to the Greke & Romain histories) of whiche annotacions euen he parauenture shall finde ease, whiche will finde faulte with the admixtion of Greke and Latine, and will auouche thesame confused medleing of sondrie tounges, rather to contein some spiece of ostentacion and bragge of the peinted sheath, then any argumente or proof of erudicion. To all whom would Christ I could perswade (as truthe it is) that I seke nothyng lesse, then soche shadoe of vnstable glorie, & that my onely will and desire is, to further honest knowlege and to call (awaie the studious youth in especiall) from hauing delite in reading phantasticall trifles (which contein in maner nothing, but the seuinarie of pernicious sectes, and sedicious doctrine, vnto a more fruitfull sort of spending good houres, & by inuiting thesame youth vnto the imitacion of honest exercises, to doe good if I maie. But to procede in that I was now about to saie, truly for the Englisheman to bee offended with the admixtion of Latine, or the Latine manne to mislike the poutheryng of Greke, appereth vnto me a moche like thing, as if at a feast with varietee of good meates and drinkes furnished, one that loueth to feede of a Capon, should take displeasure that an other man hath appetite to a Coney, or one that serueth

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serueth his stomake with a Pertrige, should be angrie with an other that hath a minde to a Quaille, or one that drinketh single Beere, should be greued with his next feloe, for drinking Ale or wine. Now for the better vnderstanding of the conceipt, trade and conueighaunce of this booke, I haue thought requisite to admonishe you, that in eche mannes Apophthegmes, *the saiyng self is set out in a greate texte letter: after whiche immediately foloweth in a middle letter (with this marke ¶) the moralizacion of* Erasmus, *wheresoeuer to thesame it seemed expediente, any soche moralle sense to gather of the* Apophthegme *for edifiyng of the reader, in vertue or ciuile honestes. That if any matter depending of some Greke or Romaine Chronicle, haue semed nedefull to be expouned, if any poeticall fable hath come in place, if to any obscure prouerbe or straunge historie hath been made, some pretie allusion nedefull to be declared, all soche thinges together with the names of persones here mencioned, ye shall find set forthe, and added of mine owne noting, ouer and besides the woordes and matter of the Latine werke, in a smal letter, with some directory marke. Yea & somtimes in the middes of the texte with this marke of mine ☞ if the place semed to require some more light. Sembleablie to the morall interpretacion of* Erasmus *(where occasion was ministred) yea & to some,* Apophthegmes *(where* Erasmus *saied nothing) in case my so doyng might anything helpe the weake, and tender capte of the vnlearned reader, I haue put addicions of thesame letter and marke, to the ende that in case it be not all of the finest the blame thereof maie not light on the aucthour, but redounde vnto my self accordinglie. And to the entente that nothing should lacke, whiche*

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whiche to the ease and commoditee of the vnlearned reader might seme necessarie, there is added also a large and plaine table, in order of the A. B. C. whereby to the name of any persone, or to any good matter in the booke conteined, readie waie & recourse maie with a weate finger easily be found out. That if any of the premisses, either the interpretour, or els the Prienter shalbe founde to haue failled, I for my parte shall not onely thinke my labours bounteously rewarded, but also knowlege my self highly bounden to render moste hartie thankes, if the gentle reader shall of his humanitee and honeste harte, vouche salue to set his penne and helping hand, to emende whatsoeuer errour it shall happen him to espie: and in the residue so to accepte bothe our laboures, as we maie thereby be encouraged gladlie to sustain ferther trauail in writyng and settyng foorthe soche aucthours as maie to the reader bee bothe pleasaunte & profitable.

¶ *Written in the yere of our Lorde GOD.*
M.D. xlii.

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¶ *The Preface of Desyderius Erasmus Roterodame,*

Vnto a Dukes soonne of his Countrey.

FOR asmoche as ye did so gently afore receiue the other little bookes, whiche I had then sent as a poore earneste penie (soche as it was) of my good harte and mind towardes your grace right noble prince, and not only your self, but also both your moste noble parentes, did so courteously accepte thesame: I haue thought good at this present, to ioyne to the saied bookes some other thing bothe more mete for your noblenesse, and also (excepte I bee moche deceiued) more profitable for your studies. I haue therefore out of euery good aucthour for the moste parte, chosen and gathered that the Grekes callen *Apophthegmata*, that is in Englishe, notable good & brief saiynges, for that I sawe none other kinde of argument, or matter more fit for a prince, especially being a yong man, not yet broken in the experience of the world. In deede full conuenient and mete to be knowen are those thinges, whiche thaunciemt Philosophiers haue left in writyng of honest behaueour, of well gouernyng and orderyng a commenweale, and of kepyng warre. But what one man emong many thousandes (yea though he be nothyng cloggued, nor letted with any publique office or ministerie) hath so moche vacaunte tyme, that he maie bee at leasure to tourne ouer and ouer in the bookes of

* *Plato*

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Plato writeth al his bokes in dialoges & in the most part of them *Socrates* is one of the disputers, whiche *Socrates* pretending eche where simplicitee & ignoraunce did ofttimes conuince diuerse of theim that he reasoned withall in their own artes, vsing to them soch kinde of reasoning as here in the text is recited.

† *Aristotle* wrote tenne bokes entitleed *Ethica*, that is, of honest behaueour and vpright liuing and dealing.

* *Plato* the ragmannes rolles, and the tariars or toies of the subtile knackes, of the drie mockes, and of the long induccions by familiare examples whiche *Socrates* doeth there vse? And as for † *Aristotle*, in deede he wrote largely of maners and behaueour, whiche werke he entiteleth in Greke *Ethica*, but by the entriked obscuritee & derkenesse thereof, he appereth to haue written thesame for Philosophiers, that is to saie, for men of high learnyng, and not for a Prince. More clere and more plain to bee perceiued, been the werkes that thesame *Aristotle* wrote of householdyng, entitled *Oeconomica*, and of orderyng a citee or commenweale entitled *Politica*, but this man euery where requireth a reader, bothe verie attente, and earnestelie minding that he readeth, and also well at leasure. And besides this, forasmoche as he vseth no soche maner of *Rhetoricall* stile of writing, as maie moue the affectes and passions, he doeth not so greatlie holde or rauishe a mannes minde, that is wholy bent and geuen to princely cures and businesse. Sembleably in the bokes of morall Philosophie, whiche *Marcus Tullius* wrote, many thynges there been of soche sorte, as it is not moche to the purpose, nor any thing at all necessarie that Princes knowe them : of whiche kinde are those thinges, that he treacteth of the consummacion of good and ill (☞ whiche we christian men would cal of blisse and damnacion) with more subtilitee of reasonyng and argumentacion, then fruite to edifie in vertuous liuing. And soche maner thinges seruen well for the purpose of them, who all the daies of their life dooe nothyng els but talke, and despute of honestee. But for a man borne to be a prince and a gouernour, it is necessarie that a readie and shorte waie to learne vertue, be quickely dispeched, and not at leasure disputed, and reasoned in wordes. Nowe resteth the histories, whiche because thei doe represente to the iye (euen as in a peinted table to bee vewed) aswell the noble actes of prowesse, as the contrary, and that not without

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out pleasure and delectacion: seme to be more fit for great men. But in this behalfe, though a prince might haue voide tymes enough, to peruse the infinite multitude of bookes of histories, what man were hable to comprehende and kepe them all freshe in his memory: but like as those persones, who been doers in the game or feacte of wrastlyng, haue in a redinesse at all tymes, certain suer poinctes and waies, bothe to catche holde, & also to wende out of holde, when nede is, so thei that trauaill in the buisie occupacions of peace and of warre, must of congruence haue in a readinesse suer rewles, by whiche thei maie be put in remembraunce, what is in that present case nedefull, or expediente to be doen, & what not. And in this behalf, we see that diuerse highly well learned men, haue assaied and taken pein by their good diligence, to ease the carefulnesse of princes and noble men, emong whiche some haue written lessons of vertue in brief sentences, as * *Theognis*, and † *Isocrates:* & others haue written the feactes of armes, or policies of warre and the goodlie short saiynges of famous men, as ‡ *Valerius Maximus*, & *Sextus Iulius* § *Frontinus*, whiche *Frontinus* declareth the self same thyng, by diuerse other writers before hym, customeably to haue been doen. It is a thyng of no small tyme of leasure, to searche out golde in the veines vnder the yearth, or to seke precious stones in the sande, or in the sea. Soche a feloe especially aboue others to a prince, with high and weightie matters continually embusied, dooeth acceptable seruice and pleasure, whiche to thesame exhibiteth & presenteth golde, alreadie fined and made in fagottes or plate, and whiche bringeth to his hande precious stones, that are chosen pieces and well poolished, alreadie set in golde, or vpon Cuppes of precious mettall. And this kind of pleasure and good turn wheras it hath of many writers been attempted yet (after my mynde and sentence) no man hath with more dexteritee or better effecte, accomplished and performed,

* *Theognis* a Greke Poete that writeth in *Elegeiacal* verses, soch moral preceptes of vertue as been in the litle treatise that is read vnderthename of *Cato.*

† *Isocrates* a Greke Oratour writing many litle treatises in prose.

‡ *Valerius Maximus*, a latin autour that wrote a werke of .ix. volumes, whiche he entiteled of the saiynges and actes of noble menne.

§ *Sextus Iulius Frontinus* writeth also in Latine 4 volumes whiche he entiteleth *Strategematum*, that is to saie, of armes, or policies of warre.

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performed, then hath * *Plutarchus*, who after the setting forthe of an excellent good and passing fruitefull werke, of the liues of noble men (in whiche werke, here and there been mingled and recited, aswell the factes as the saiynges of thesame) he gathered in to one litle booke, for the vse of *Traianus Caesar*, the beste commended man of al the Emperours, that before his tyme had been, the notable saiynges of soundrie renoumed persones, by whiche as in a verie true & perfect glasse, the harte and minde of euery of theim, is to the iye of the readers, liuely and certainly represented. For in the actes and deedes of princes, a good porcion of the laude and praise, the counsaillour maie claime and chalenge, for geuyng his aduise, the capitaine for his chieualrie, & the souldiours for their stoutnesse. And a verie great porcion of thesame laude and thanke, doeth ladie Fortune claime to haue, by whose conueighaunce oft times we se, thinges not without high counsaill & wisedome enterprised, to haue a verie vnluckie ende, and contrarie wise, the misaduised temeritee & vndescretenesse of some persons, to haue right prosperous chaunce and in thende to proue verie well. As it is reported that *Siramnes* the *Persian*, (a capitain as I suppose) saied, when he was asked, why his deedes wer not aunswerable to his ioilie saiynges, For be cause (saith he) what I will speake, lieth in myn owne power, but how soche thynges as I dooe, shall ende or be taken, standeth in the pleasure of fortune, and of the kyng. Albeeit honest purposes and deuises, are not therefore vtterly defeacted of their due laude and condigne praise. But the said *Plutarchus* doeth in this kind, ferre excede and passe all other writers, not onely in chosyng the beste, but also in expouning and declaring thesame. For these saiynges (which, as afore is mencioned, the Grekes callen *Apophthegmata*) haue appropriated vnto them, a certain reason & marke of their own whereby to iudge, so that thei doe plainly expresse and sette out,

* *Plutarchus* was a Greke philosophier & was scholemaister vnto the Emperour *Traianus* in the citie of Rome where he wrote in Greke many noble & excellent good werkes as wel of histories as also of morall philosophie and of vertue

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out, the verie naturall inclinacion, and disposicion of eche speaker that thei procede from, briefly, finely, quippyngly, and merily, within the boundes of good maner, And as euery seueral persone hath properly belongyng vnto hym a facion of his owne, whereby he is commended, & wherby his saiynges and doynges haue a good grace, or els other wise: euen so like wise hath euery nacion, so that not one maner saiynges, are conuenient for *Alexander* & for *Philippus* or *Antigonus*. One sort are mete for *Alcibiades:* again, one facion agreable for a man of *Lacedaemon*, and an other for a *Scythian* or a *Thracian:* and a diuerse from that againe comely for a man of *Athenes*, or for a *Romaine*. Now in expressyng and vttring soche saiynges, *Xenophon* semeth to me somewhat werishe, *Herodotus* voide of quicknesse or life, *Diodorus* and *Quintus Curtius* ouer full of wordes, and so forthe of the other writers, whiche I surceasse by name to speake of. *Plutarchus* is a perfecte felowe in all poinctes, and therefore I haue thought best thesame *Plutarchus* to foloe, principally aboue al others. Wherefore al that euer is comprised in the werke of this aucthour, which he entitleed *de Apophthegmatibus*, that is, of feacte and brief saiynges, ye shall finde here in this werke euery whitte of it, We do al know that this werke of *Plutarchus* hath been twis translated out of Greke into Latine, firste by *Francisce Philelphus*, and afterward againe by *Raphael Regius*, with whom I was somewhat acquainted in the Uniuersitee of *Padwaie*. *Philelphus* in diuerse places had missed the cushen, whiche places *Raphael* doth restore and correcte, and yet somewhere stumbleth hymself. The truthe is, thei bothe wer men, and might erre, mistaking a thyng that thei read. Albeit either of them minded, to be nothyng els but a plain translatour, of the Greke into latin, but I for many causes haue thought better the said *Plutarchus* tō folowe, then to translate, to expoune at large, then worde for worde out of Greke onely to enterpret: first that

that the stile might be the more clere and plain, as beyng lesse bounden to the Greke woordes: (for this presente booke of myne, is not written vnto *Traianus*, a man bothe in Greke and Latine, excellently well seen, and also in long experience of all maner affaires, gaily well broken and exercised, but to a prince beyng yet but a yong thyng, yea and by you, to all children and young strieplinges, that labour & sue to attain the knowlege of good learning & honeste studies: nor yet in that world, when soche maner saiynges and actes wer by the report & communicacion of the people daily talked and spoken of, in banes or whot houses, at diners and suppers and abrode in the streates whensoeuer folkes be assembled together: and secondarily, that I might haue free libertee, to declare and expoune the fine wittinesse of the saiyng, if any came to hand that was of sense obscure and darke, as at this presente right many there been harde to be vnderstanded, not onely of soche as haue neuer gone to schoole, but also of soche as doe ferre surmount the common sorte of clerkes. And certes for myne owne parte, the geassyng & redyng what diuerse of these *Apophthegmes* should meane or signifie, hath curstely troubled and vexed my braines, & I can not saie, whether it hath somewhere beguiled me too. And in places not a fewe, I haue had moche strougleyng and wrastlyng, with the faultes of Imprintyng in the bookes, at whiche it could not bee auoided, but that the enterpreters and translatours, maugre their heddes did stumble. For it is a thing vneth beleueable, how moche and how boldly, as wel the commen writers, that from time to tyme haue copied out the bookes of *Plutarchus*, as also certaine that haue thought them selfes hable to countrolle and emend all mennes doynges, haue taken vpon them in this autour, who ought with all reuerence to haue been handled of theim, and with all feare to haue been preserued from altryng, deprauyng, or corruptyng. For neuer hath there

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there been emong the Greke writers (especially as touchyng matters of vertue and good behauour) any one more holy then *Plutarchus*, or better worthie of all men to bee reade. But the verie same thyng hath prouoked persones desirous of glorie and lucre, to depraue and corrupte this autour, to put in more then he wrote, and also to leaue out of that he wrote, which ought moste of all to haue feared them from so doing. For euery writer the better accepted and set by that he is, and the greater name that he hath emong learned men, so moche the rather shall he for lucre and auauntage be corrupted. That this autour hath been so vsed, the very diuersite of the Greke text, not agreyng one copie with an other doeth right well argue and proue. For all others omitted, to speake onely of this presente werke that now is in hande, the translacion of *Philelphus* hath certain thinges, whiche *Raphael* lefte vntouched, and *Raphael* likewise some thynges of which *Philelphus* maketh no mencion at all. Besides this where *Plutarchus* in the Preface by expresse woordes doeth plainly testifie, that in the liues, he had mingled the saiynges and actes of noble men together, the one with thother: and in this werke for briefnesse, to haue linked together onely their *Apophthegmes* or saiynges, yet doe we se right many thynges admixte and put in emong the *Apophthegmes*, whiche in verie deede are no saiynges at al, nor any other thing, but mere pollices of war, whiche the Grekes called *Strategemata*. Now in the self same werke, one and thesame thinges so often again and again repeated, doen thei not openly crie this argument and matter, by some other feloe to haue been contaminated and sloubred? So that we maie now pardone, that in certaine places an *Apophthegma* is recited, vnder the name of the persone, that it was spoken to, & not of hym by whom it was spoken, as of *Lysymachus* and *Philippus*. For in this treatise of *Plutarchus*, whiche is entitled *Collectanea*, that is to saie, a manuall of sondrie and preatie histo-

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ries and saiynges, compiled together for al readers the aunswere that *Philippus* made vnto *Lysimachus*, is told and reported, vnder the title or chapiter of *Lysimachus*. But yet it was an higher poinct of presumpcion, that of one werke thei haue made it two. For because *Plutarchus* of the saiynges of *Lacedaemonians*, whiche been a very greate nomber, had touched onely so many, as for the Emperour, beyng with many matters sore embusied, seemed like to suffice. He, whosoeuer it was (at lest if it wer but one feloe and no mo, that sette handes therunto) hath assigned to the saiynges of *Lacedaemonians* one proper volume, and that according to the order of the Greke letters, as thei stande in the alphabete whiche *Raphael* in his translacion hath turned, into the order of the letters of the Latine A.B.C. But this was of al the thre, euen the very wurst. For *Valerius* and *Frontinus* folowen thorder of soche sentences, as thei shewe concernyng religion, concernyng affeccion and loue to mennes countrees, concernyng truth in kepyng promisses made, concernyng manfull hardinesse, & concerning iustice, and likewise of other matters, settyng eche of them in his right order and place. Best standyng with cunnyng and learnyng, is thesame order that *Plutarchus* folowed, obseruyng and kepyng the order of regions and kingdomes, as thei stand in rowe and in euery of them the order of the tymes, to euery of the kinges, ioinyng his owne capitaines, and to euery of the capitaines their mates. From the *Persians* he cometh to the *Egiptians*, from the *Egiptians* to the *Thracians*, from the *Thracians* to the *Scythians*, from the *Scythians* to the *Sicilians*, from the *Sicilians* to the *Macedonians*, from thens to the *Atheniense*, from theim to the *Lacedaemonians*, folowyng in euery of these thorder of the tymes, and not of the letters in the alphabete. From the *Lacedemonians* he cometh to the *Thebanes*, from the *Thebanes* to the *Romaines*, so that the reader by the saiynges of a few persones maie familiarly knowe the order of the whole

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whole historie, whiche order, that feloe hath pieteously confounded and troubled, & set out of order, that sondred & disseuered the saiyngs of the *Lacedemonians* from the others, and yet here and there, repeting the verie same thinges that *Plutarchus* had gathered afore vnto *Traianus*, albeit in sondrie places, one thing repeated is moche more often deprehended and openly founde in the other werke of *Apophthegmes*, but in bothe werkes, so often as thesame fallyng in a slumber, and forgettyng hymself, can not light on *Plutarchus*, a writer of precise diligence. More ouer, this parte hath no preface at all, and the preface that goeth before the *Apophthegmes* vnto *Traianus*, will not serue to bothe werkes. Nowe, what thanke suche persones are worthy to haue whiche doe in this wyse slabre and defile the bokes of famous autours. I will not at this tyme reason, but truly me thinketh it a very sacriliege. Yet of me (except a fewe saiynges of *Lacedemonians* because the selfsame been repeated in the other table of rehersal euery one of them) is not so moche as one omitted of all that goeth abrode vnder the name of *Plutarchus* partely to thende that the reader beyng rather a greadie glutton, then a minion deintie peece might not misse any thyng that he would fayne haue: and partely, for that I sawe nothing there but worthy to be knowen, though sometime rehersed & tould out of his right place. Neuerthelesse, all the whole werke I haue in manier made my propre owne in that I do more at large and more playnely expresse the thynges that be tolde in Greke, putting in sometimes soch thinges as I had well perceiued to bee added in other autours, adding also out of the other werkes of *Plutarchus* veray many thinges whiche wer not in this present treactise, and euery where as it were with litle brief commentaries opening and shewyng aswell the sense of the *apophthegme* as also the vse wherfore, and how it may serue, especially in those places whiche lacked some more light and clerenesse,

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albeit thesame haue I dooen briefly in fewe wordes, lest I should haue clene turned away from the nature of *apophthegmes*, which ought not to contein many wordes. But as for thordre is wurse broken and confused euen of me, then I found it there, for that, wher at the beginning I had purposed to make rehersall but of verie fewe and onely of the principal best sort, when I was ones entreed in my werke, the veray heate therof pricked and sette me to chaunge my mynde and to go on still a great waye ferther, neither should I haue made any ende, had not this as ye would saie, an houge main sea of thinges, still freshe and freshe comyng to mynde, enforced and driuen me to blowe retreacte, and to recule backe. For as *Quintilian* emong the vertues and graces of a schole maister in Grammer, putteth this to be one, that he be in some thinges ignoraunt: so, in this kinde of argumente, it semeth to bee some parte of diligence, certain thynges to passe ouer and to leaue out. Therefore, I haue thought better, to make at this tyme a deintie feaste, then a coumbreous or troublesome, especially for that, if any thyng be in this present supper lefte out, it maie at some other supper be set before my geastes, after that all this shal be perfectely digested. And that incommoditee of the order of thinges neglected, and not precisely kept, I haue with a large reportorie or table redubbed. For the title, it nothyng forceth to be carefull or scruplous, sens that emong those saiynges, whiche *Plutarchus* vnder the title and name of *Apophthegmes*, hath gathered and compiled together, there be many, whiche an other manne would rather call, scornes, tauntes, checkes, iestes, or merie conceipted saiynges to laugh at. But forasmoche as *Marcus Tullius*, in puttyng a seuerall distinccion, betwene eche of these kyndes, hath taken earnest labour and peine, without any effecte, and forasmoche as *Marsus* a right well learned man, hath in this behalf nothyng satisfied *Quintilian*, no, nor yet *Quintilian* in knowlege and litterature,

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litterature, ferre passing *Marsus*, hath satisfied him self: I haue not thought it a thyng woorthie the labour in this behalf to bestowe moche busie trauaill, contented and thinkyng sufficient, here and there by the waie, as occasion serueth, to haue opened and shewed the kind and the nature of the saiyng, or of the merie ieste. Certes, in those thinges that I haue of my self added, besides *Plutarchus* doynges, I haue diligently foreseen and prouided, in no wise confusely to mingle policies of warre (hauyng no saiyng of this kinde annexed vnto theim) and *Apophthegmes* bothe together, and also that I would in no wise putte in here any thyng, but taken out of the best allowed, and thesame the moste auncient writers, bothe in Greke and Latine: not that I am ignoraunte, the later writers to haue ricited many thynges sharpelie and also pleasauntely spoken: but soche thynges as antiquitee hath made precious iewels, and as ye would saie reliques, been of more aucthoritee, and mete it was that this werke should haue an ende, and not be infinite. Nor this thyng neither ought to moue any manne, that one and thesame saiyng is of one aucthour, ascribed vnto the persone of one manne, and of an other aucthoure is attributed to an other manne. For it forceth not so greatly, of what persone a thyng is spoken, as it doeth, what is spoken: albeit in deede a famous speaker, and one that hath the fauour and hartes of menne, geueth to the saiynges moche weighte and grace also. This thyng more often cometh in vre, then that it needeth by examples to bee proued. But yet sometymes it chaunceth, by reason that mannes memorie failleth, albeeit there is no cause to the contrarie, but that one and thesame sentence, maie procede from sondrie speakers or writers, whether imitacion be the cause thereof, or els chaunce, as for example, this staffe of a metre in Greke.

σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσία,

That is,

Tyrannes

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Tyrannes by wisemennes conuersacion,
Maie sone bee brought to goodnesse and wisedome.

* *Sophocles* is a Greke poete, of whose writyng we haue seuen Tragedies.

† *Euripedes* also is a Greke poete, and wrote xx. tragedies, which we haue.

This is well knowen to bee a verse of * *Sophocles*, yet *Plato* citeth it out of † *Euripides*. Againe this verse.

γέρων γέροντα παιδαγωγήσω σ' ἐγὼ,
That is,
I beyng aged, as I can,
Will teache thee beyng also an old manne.

Whereas it is in the tragedie of *Sophocles* entitleed *Philoctetes*, yet is thesame woorde for woorde found in *Bacchis* the Tragedie of *Euripides:* like wise this verse.

σιγῶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγων τὰ καίρια,
That is,
Whether thou talke, or hold thy peace,
Thou must in due season, speake or ceasse.

Aechylus is also a Poete that wrote tragedies in Greke.

Whereas it is in the tragedie of *Aechylus* entitleed *Promotheus:* it is founde also in *Euripides*, onely twoo letters chaunged σιγῶν and λέγων, in steede of σιγῶν, and λέγων, Somewhiles, aucthours agree not, neither on the matter, nor yet on the name. As he that cast in the teeth of *Marcus Fabius* that he had by his meanes, recouered againe the toune of *Tarente*, in *Tullie* his name *Liuius Saliuator*, in *Titus Liuius* is named *Marcus Liuius*, in *Plutarche Marcus Lucius*, or els is as in the Greke examplaries Μάρκιος Λεύκιος, Also *Fabius Philostratus* sheweth that one *Leo* a Sophiste, brought all the people of *Athenes* in a laughter with his bodie, beyng notable grosse and fatte, and *Plutarche* saieth lanke and little. *Valerius Maximus* and *Plinius*, in the reporting of a certain alteracion, that was betwene *Cn. Domitius* and *Lucius Crassus* in Rome, how wide been thei the one from the other, but without all life or solle been those thynges, that in some writers are feigned to haue been the woordes of certain persones, in the fables of Poetes mencioned, as in *Philostratus* the Sophiste, when he forgeth and shapeth

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shapeth to *Palamedes*, to *Vlysses* and to other like persones, soche tales and speaches, as lusted his owne phantasticall braine to deuise and imagin, and thesame are made double dedde by eiuill handelyng, of whiche sorte of saiynges, I doe in this present werke medle with none at all. In the nexte degree to these been soche speaches as are assigned to diuerse persons in dialogues, feigned and endited, not for any truthe of the matter to be beleued, but for disporte and passetyme onely. But in the speaches of the partes, in Comedies (that is merie enterludes) and in tragedies (that is sad entreludes, whiche we call staige plaies) there is some more life and pithe, and a greate grace thei haue, beyng sette in an apte and fitte place, albeit the name of *Apophthegmes*, no saiynges can haue excepte the speaker, out of whose mouthe thei doen procede be a persone of great name, and the wordes purposely applied to some matter being euen at that present houre in communicacion, yea and moche the better to be liked, if thei be a little disframed to an other sense, or a ferther meanyng then the verie woordes dooe purporte. As when *Aristotle* vnto *Calisthenes*, talkyng with kyng *Alexander* more homely and frankely, then was expediente, gaue a by warnyng with this verse of the Poete *Homere.*

ὠκύμορος δή μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.

That is,

My sonne, if thou be thus large of tong,
Thou shalt surely leese thy life ere long.

Out of *Herodotus* I haue had no greate lust to gather any greate nomber of saiynges, because that moste parte of theim appere to haue been inuented of that writers owne witte. Like trashe and bagguage been those saiynges that are incidente in oracions, whiche the writers of histories (eche as his witte serueth him) are wonte to attribute to menne, albeeit euen those doe moche auaill, aswell to the readers iudgemente, as also to make a manne hable well to frame, and promptely

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promptely to tell his tale. The principall beste sorte of *Apophthegmes* is that saiyng, whiche in fewe woordes, doeth rather by a colour signifie, then plainly expresse a sense, not comen for euery witte to picke out, and soche a saiyng, as no manne could lightely feigne by studie, and whiche the longer ye doe consider it in your mynde, the more and more it dooeth still delite you. And all these uniuersalle sorte of writynges, as doe comprehende prouerbes, sage sentencies, and notable saiynges or actes, is moste fitte for Princes and noble menne, who for the vrgente causes and buisie matters of the commenweale, haue not leasure to spende any greate parte of their life in studie or in reading of bookes. And these writynges, as thei be learned with pleasure and delite, and do lightly sinke and settle in the mynde, so doe thei conteine more good knowlege and learnyng, in the depe botome or secrete priuetee, then thei shewe at the firste vieue. We reade that *Augustus Caesar* of a custome, did cause as many as he could any where get, of soche good lessons to bee exemplified, and the copies thereof to sende into diuers places. Also we see the chief and principall studie of the ioily aunciente wise menne of olde tyme to haue been, that thei might with the lure of pleasaunt delectacion emplante in tender young wittes, thynges worthie and expedient to be knowen, to the ende that the vnbroken younth, not yet full ripe for the serious preceptes of Philosophie, might euen with plaie and daliyng learne soche thynges, as might afterward doe them high seruice, all daies of their life. For this entente and purpose, thei did as ye would saie, spiece and pouther Cosmographie, Astrologie, Musike, and Philosophie, as wel naturall as moralle, with fables and tales, pretilie and wittilie feigned. But in this booke that I haue now made, shall perauenture seeme to bee somethynges, that maken nothyng to honest behaueour, but dooe onely cause laughter. Neither doe I esteme it a thing worthie

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worthie blame, euer now and then with laughter to refreashe the mynde, with cures and matters of charge in maner tiered, so that the matter to laugh at bee pure witte and honest. For soche thynges gladdeth and maketh lustie the wittes of young folkes, and doeth passyng good helpe and furtheraunce, aswell to the familiare gentlenesse of condicions, as also to the pleasauntnesse of counnyng. For what thyng better sweteth the endityng of *Marcus Tullius*, then that he dooeth euer now and then sauce his stile, with saiynges of this sorte? And I praie you, what been the moralles of *Plutarchus*, but Aresse hangynges, with soche like colours pictured? More ouer, those saiynges that seme moste fonde thinges of all to laugh at, by well handelyng, become matters of sadnesse. For what could bee a more fonde thyng to laugh at, then *Diogenes* goyng from place to place, with a candle in his hande at high noonetide, saiyng still, that he did seke a man? But in the meane tyme by laughyng, we learne that he is not by and by, in all the haste a manne, that hath the figure and shape of a manne (which Images also of wood and stone haue) but to find out a manne, the botome of the harte and mynde must bee founde out. If the harte and minde bee guided by reason and discrecion, rather then lead by wilfull appetite: then and els not, haste thou founde out a manne. Also what is so worthie to bee laughed at, as that *Phryne* a stroumpette in *Athenes*, bindyng by promisse and couenaunte, that euery one of the women, that satte then in the compaignie at the table, should dooe thesame thyng, that she would doe firste, dieped her hande twis in the water, and putte it to her forehedde, discoueryng by this deuise, the peintyng of all the other womennes faces, so that al the coumpaignie fell into a greate laughter: where as she by so doyng, appered a greate deale fairer and better fauoured? But this laughter teacheth vs the self same thyng, whiche *Socrates* saied in good sadnesse that we should

should applie our selfes to bee in deede of soche sorte as we would be accoumpted and estemed, leste that when the peintyng is pulled from our visages, wee haue in the ende shame and reproche, in stede of glorie and renoume. It geueth vs also a lesson, that we put not our whole truste and staigh in thynges externall and transitorie, whiche by many diuerse chaunces are with a trice taken awaie from a manne, but wee should acquire and purchace the veraie true richesse of the mynde and soulle, on whiche fortune hath no power ne dominacion, so high a poincte of serious Philosophie doeth that fonde toye, of the said peuishe harlotte *Phryne*, teache vs. For this consideracion *Lycurgus* (although in other matters, he brought vp and nurtured his countremenne, after a verie streicte facion :) yet honeste mirth and iestyng, he not onely permitted vnto theim, but also enioyned and commaunded. For he ordeined a kynde of exercise, whiche he named in Greke λέσχας as we saie, gossopyng, to the whiche all the aunciente or aged menne, that were past bearyng any publique funccions, and for the respecte of their ympotencie, were discharged of that burden, resorted and assembleed pleasauntly, passyng the tyme with feacte saiynges and honeste bourdyng, but alwaies of soche sorte, as might make either to the commendacion and praise of honestee and vertue, or els to the rebukyng of vice. He sette vp also an Image vnto the GOD γέλως, that is, laughter, for that he iudged it to bee a thyng of high vtilitee and profite, with sober mirthe to refreashe the lustinesse of the myndes, and to make thesame cherefull, to honest trauailles and labours, because that in this worlde, as the Poete *Ouidius* saieth.

Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est.

What thing resteth not, now & then emong
But still trauailleth, cannot endure long.

Cleomenes also of thesame *Lacedemon*, beeyng soche a sore and rigorous felowe, that he would not licence neither rymers, nor women that could sing or plaie on instrumentes,

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instrumentes, nor any minstrelles, to bee in the commen weale, yet allowed that al the same countree should striue their bealies full, one with an other, in bourdyng or iestyng, meete for honeste menne to vse, and in poinaunte checkyng tauntes. For a finall conclusion, as often as vacaunte tyme is geuen, or the case requireth hilaritee and mirthe, how moche more decente is it, with soche maner saiynges as these been, to passe the tyme, then to take pleasure of fables, voide of honestee, voide of learnyng, and full of rebaudrie, I am of this opinion, that young children might moche more to their profect and benefite, be exercised in the Grammer Schooles with themes, or argumentes to write on, of this sorte, then with matters to make vpon, soche as been commenlie vsed (whiche themes for the moste parte, as thei conteine nothyng but little triflyng senses, voide of all pithe or fruicte, so dooe thei nothyng open the misteries of the Latine toungue) so that the schoolemaister dooe open and declare the rewles and waies, how that whiche is briefly spoken, maie bee delated and sette out more at large, and how that that is so fondlie spoken, that the hearers or reders cannot but laugh at it, maie be turned or applied, to a serious vse and purpose. And this one thyng will I saie more. In Sermones percase it is not conueniente to mingle iestyng saiynges of mortall menne, with the holie scriptures of G O D, but yet might thesame moche more excusablie bee vsed, to quicken soche as at Sermones been euer noddyng, then olde wiues foolishe tales of Robin Hoode, and soche others, whiche many preachers haue in tymes past customablie vsed to bryng in, taken out euen of the verie botome and grosseste parte of the dreggues of the common peoples foolishe talkyng. *Iulius Caesar* Emperour of Roome, susteinyng the burden of so many chargeable affaires of encoumbraunce and buisinesse, aswell at home in the citee when peace was, as also abrode in warrefare, vsed to drieue awaie the wearinesse

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wearinesse of takynge thought for soche thynges as he had in his hedde to carke and care for, with tauntyng woordes of bourdyng and iestyng: with whiche he was so greately delited, that he did allowe and take in verie good parte, soche as were spoken by others euen against his owne persone, so that thei were proper, feacte, and well conueighed. Uneth any other of all the aunciente Emperours of Roome was either more holie, and better disposed, or els more encoumbreed with buisinesse of the worlde, then was *Augustus Caesar:* But againe, what persone in this kinde more merie conceipted? Of *Marcus Tullius*, I will nothyng saie at this present, who is of many men thought in iestyng to haue remembred or considered as he ought to haue doen, neither measure nor yet comelinesse. *Xenocrates* the Philosophier was of a more soure nature, a ioylie feloe in some other respectes: but *Plato* mo tymes then one auised hym, with sacrifice to purchace the fauour of the Graces, that is, so to applie himself that his saiynges and doinges might haue more grace, and bee better accepted and taken of the worlde. *Zeno* beeyng outright all together a Stoique, vsed to call *Socrates* the scoffer, or the Hicke scorner of the Citee of *Athenes:* because of his merie conceiptes and tauntyng, that he neuer ceassed to vse: but yet is there no manne, but he will saie that *Socrates* was a more Godlie feloe then either of those twoo, whiche I named laste afore. And to leaue vnspoken, that no mennes saiynges are more taken vp and vsed, then those whiche bee sauced with a certaine grace of pleasaunte mirthe, vndoubtedly *Socrates*, *Diogenes*, and *Aristippus* would serue better for teachyng and trainyng young children, then either *Xenocrates* or els *Zeno*. That if the moste wise auncient fathers, were not deceiued, in that thei thought it conueniente, with certaine knackes of pleasaunte delectacion, to lure the tendernesse of youngth, vnto the loue of sage Ladie Sapience, moche more is thesame conueniente, for one

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one that is bothe tender of age, and also borne to bee a Prince or gouernour: whom as it becometh to bee vigilaunt, and to haue in all causes a diligente iye, so it behoueth not, either to haue a soure countenaunce hymself, or els to lette any persone with an hault looke, to departe from his presence. Nowe, the mynde brought vp in pleasaunte and coumfortable studies of recreacion, is made more lustie and courageous, to susteine the burden of all cures, and also more pleasaunte for all maner coumpaignie keepyng emong men. With these reasons I might sufficiently haue defended myself, though I had gathered together, nothyng but merie iestes, whereas now soche saiynges of mirthe, are but here and there in fewe places, entermedleed emong saiynges of grauitee and sadnesse, as sauces of the feaste. That if I shall perceiue youre grace herewithall to bee well pleased: it shall neuer repente me of this my labour and seruice doing, though (as some persons shall percase iudge) it bee ouer poore and base. Others doen write bookes for theim, that bee ferther entreed bothe in yeres and knowlege: I do (as ye would saie) feede the tender age of a young babe of noble birthe. That if your grace hath alreadie outlearned this geare (as with all my harte I would wishe that ye had) yet I knowe well, it will stand with the good mynde and pleasure of thesame, that the commen studies of young scholares haue been ferthered, and haue fared thus moche the better for your sake. And I shall perhappes here after, geue you thynges of more saigenesse and grauitee, when ye shall perfectely haue learned all this by harte. For these thynges must in any wise bee cunned by harte, to thende that ye maie haue theim euer readie at hande. Albeeit what nedeth you to haue any thynges of my makyng, sens ye haue at home in householde with you *Conradus Heresuachius*, a man in all kindes and sortes of learnyng, absolute and perfecte, whom I see and perceiue to beare towards your grace, soche good harte and

and mynde, that (accordyng to the duetee and parte of an especiall good schoolemaister) he reioyceth at the commoditees, and the honourable procedynges of you his pupille and scholare, moche more highly then at his owne. And this manne like as he hath alreadie trained and instructed your childehoode with learning, so shall he bee hable with prudente and faithfull counsaill, to dooe you greate helpe and fertheraunce, when ye shalbee a manne. And to me also it shall bee a thyng to dooe no lesse ioye and coumforte, then high honestee and auauncement, in some behalf (bee it neuer so little) to haue ferthered your moste excellente towardnesse, with my industrious labour. To conclude, I beseche almightee G O D, that he vouchesalue to conserue, to maintein, and to encreace his giftes of grace, which he hath moste aboundauntely bestowed on you, to the ende that ye maie aswell satisfie the desires and wishynges of your moste vertuous parentes, and that ye maie proue euen like well in all worthinesse, as the others of your moste noble progenie hetherto haue dooen, as also that ye maie bee an hable manne, to enioye the possession of that ioyly fruictefull Seigniourie, to the whiche ye are borne, and appoincted to bee heire. Thus will I make an ende, after one woorde more. While ye bestowe your self in this geare thinke and remember well, that ye doo read the saiynges, not of Christian menne, but of Gentiles and Miscreauntes, so that ye muste reade theim with a iudgement.

Yeuen at Friburge, the. 26.
daie of Februarie, in
the yere of our
Lorde.
M.D.XXXI.

* *
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THE APOPHTHEGMES OF ERASMUS.

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¶ *A preamble of the interpreter*

vnto the saiynges of Socrates.

POrasmoche, as emong al the gentile Philosophiers of olde time, there is none, either for integritee of maners, for vpright liuyng, for quicknesse and (as ye yould saie) liuelinesse of saiynges, or for the perfeccion of Philosophicall humilitee and sufferaunce, to bee compared with Socrates: and in consideracion, that thesame Socrates firste of all that sorte attempted to withdrawe menne from vain studies and desires, to the readyng of Morall Philosophie, and to the trade of vertuous liuing, not onely so framyng and ministryng his doctrine, that he might effectually perswade vnto men vertue and perfecte honestee, but also directyng the example and paterne of all his life and doynges to thesame ende, effecte and purpose: wee haue thought moste conuenient, to set his saiynges first, as of the which the studious reader maie gather & take soche presidentes of holy and innocent liuing, soche nurture of vncorrupt maners, soche lessons of mildenes and pacience, soche discipline of esehewyng vice, and all

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all carnal pleasures soche paterne of bridlyng,
and refreining all sensualitee, soche example
of contemning wordly gooddes, and
other vanitees, as shall be to
the same right plea-
saunt fruitfull
and pro-
fi-
table.

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¶ *The saiynges of*

SOCRATES.

OUt of the mouthe of Socrates it came, the goddes to be of all the best and moste blissed: and that euery manne, the nerer that he draweth to the facions, and representacion of thesame goddes, the better he is, and the more heauenlike. 1. God is to bee foloed as nere as we maie.

¶ If ye saie one God, as he saied goddes (for there is but one God) nothyng maie be spoken more Christianlike.

It was also a saiyng of his, that nothing ought to be desired of God, in mennes prayers, but vnder this forme, and with these woordes (soche thynges as be good for vs) without any ferther addicion. 2. What sort our praiers ought to bee.

¶ Where as the moste parte of men dooe aske in their praiers, one a wife with a good dourie, an other asketh riches, this manne honours, that manne rule, some long life, as it were prescribyng, and appoincting to God, what he should doe. But God of hymself before we dooe aske, doeth beste knowe, what is good and expedient for vs, and what is not.

His mind was, that sacrifice should be doen to the goddes, with as smal charges as might be, for that the goddes, as thei haue no neede of the gooddes of mortall men, so thei haue more regard to the hartes of those, that offre sacrifice, then to their riches: otherwise, forasmoche as 3. Sacrifice to God ought not to be ouer sumptuous.

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commonlie the worste disposed persones haue moste aboundaunce of worldly gooddes, the worlde wer at an euill point, if God wer better pleased with the sacrifice of the naughtie persones, then of the good. And to that ende he vsed greatly to allowe this verse that foloweth of the Greke Poete.

καδ δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

Eche manne to his power in any wise,
Vnto the goddes to dooe sacrifice.

¶ This saiyng toucheth vs Christian men also, whiche doe bestowe coste and charge out of all measure in adournyng temples, and in executyng high feastes and funeralles, where as we should moche better content and please God, if that, that is aboue good housband-like clenlines, we would bestowe in almes vppon our Christian brethren, beeyng in extreme neede. Semblable measure he taught to be vsed also, in receiuyng and interteinyng of geastes and straungers, when thei resort to vs, euer hauyng in his mouth, the verse aboue written: *Eche manne to his power, &c.*

4 Sclender fare is to moche for euill geastes.

When it was told him by a frende of his that against the receiuyng of certain geastes into his hous, he had sclendrely prepared for theim: if thei be honest men (quoth he) it wilbe enough: if not, a great deale to moch.

5. Vertue and temperate diet to be used.

One lesson of his was, that men should abstein from meates, whiche might prouoke a man to eate, hauyng no appetite, nor beyng houngrie, and also from that drinke whiche might tempt a man to drinke, not beyng thirstie.

¶ For meate and drinke wee ought not to vse, but as the necessitie of the bodie requireth.

6. Hounger is the best sauce in the world for meat.

Socrates said, the best sauce in the world for meates, is to bee houngrie.

¶ Because thesame bothe sweeteth all thynges, and also is a thyng of no coste ne charge, and by this meanes

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meanes did he for his part euermore, eate and drinke with pleasure and delite, for he did neither the one, nor the other, but when he was hungrie and thirstie.

Yea, and to endure houngre and thirst, he had purposly exercised and enured hymself. For after swette or greate heate taken in the wrastleyng place (where thei vsed to wrastle, and walke for the exercise of their bodies) where as others would nedes haue drinke by and by, in all the haste: Socrates would neuer drinke of the first cuppe. And beyng demaunded wherfore he did so, That I maie not accustome my self (quoth he) to foloe my sensuall appetites, lustes & desires. 7. The luste and appetite muste bee restreined.

¶ For sometymes though a man be thirstie, yet is it a noysome and daungerous thing to drinke. And in this case, when reason aduiseth to forbeare, and the appetite pricketh to take drinke, a man ought rather to folowe reason. In taking meates and drinkes reason is to be foloed, and not the appetite.

He saied, that soche as had well broken themselfes, to vertuous liuyng and temperate diete, did perceiue and take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse peines, then soche as with al high cure and diligence, did on euery side make prouision to haue al thinges of pleasure. 8. Inordinate liuynge, is moche more peinfull then vertuous liuing.

¶ Because the pleasures of inordinate liuers, besides the tormentes of their owne naughtie conscience, besides infamie and pouertie, dooe brede oftymes euen in the verie bodie more grefe, then delectacion. And contrariwise, what thinges been most honest the same weaxen also moste pleasaunt, if a man haue been accustomed vnto theim. The inconueniencies ensuing of inordinate sensualitee.

He saied, that it was a foule shame, if a man wilfully, beyng as a bonde seruaunt to pleasures of the bodie, made himself soche an one, as no man would by his good will, haue to his seruaunt at 9. To bee as a bond seruaunt to the pleasures of the bodie.

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at home in his hous. And in soche persones he saied, that there was no maner hope of recouerie, excepte that others would praie to the goddes for them, that (for asmoche as thei wer vtterly determined, to be bond seruauntes) their fortune might bee, to gette, good, and honest maisters.

¶ For, his opinion was, that no persones doe liue in a more filthy or beastely, and in a more wretched or miserable state of bondage then soche as bothe in minde and bodie, been captiue to naughtee pleasures.

10. To dooe benefitte too a whole multitude.

Socrates beeyng demaunded, for what cause he would not beare some publique office in gouernyng the common weale, sens that he could singlare good skill, how to administer the same: answered, that person to doe moche better seruice in a citee, whiche did make a greate nomber of men, apte and mete to be rewlers in a common weale, then hym that well could gouerne thesame, in his owne persone onely.

Nicolaus Leonicenus, a Phisician in Italie.

¶ The selfsame answere did *Nicolaus Leonicenus* make vnto me in the citee of *Farrare*, when I saied: that I meruailled, why himself did not practise Phisike of whiche facultee he was a Doctour, and a publique reader: I auaile moche more, saieth he, in that I teach all thother Phisicians. Nor a moche vnlike aunswere did Willyam, late Archebishop of Cantorbury, the singuler **Mecenas* of al my studies, giue vnto me, stiffely refusyng to take a benefice, of his collacion and saiyng: With what face maie I take to my vse and profite, the money of those persones, to whom (as beeyng a man ignoraunt of their language) I can neither make sermons, nor doe good in rebuking of their misbehauour, nor in giuyng them coumfort: nor yet in duely executyng any part of the office of a good shepheard or curate. As though ye doe not more good, quoth he, in that by your bokes, whiche ye haue made

William Warham, Archbishop of Canterburie.

* *Mecenas* was a noble man in Rome and a great man with *Augustus Cesar* and so great a fauorer, promoter, & setter forthe of *Virgil*, *Horace* & soche other lerned men, that euersens his time,

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made and set forthe, ye dooe enstruct and teache all pastours and curates, then if ye should bestowe all your tyme and seruice vpon one sole parish of the countree. I knowleged that it was on his partie verie frendly spoken, but yet he did not perswade me, ne bryng me in mynde to take the benefice.

all those that dooe notablie promote, helpe, or fauour studentes or learned men, are of his name called *Mecenates.*

II. Beyng asked, by what meanes a man might atteigne an honest name and fame: if he earnestlie applie hymself, quoth Socrates, to be soche a man in deede as he desireth to be accompted and estemed.

Honest name and fame how it is to bee perchaced and acquired.

¶ If a manne would fain be reputed a good plaier on the Recordres, it is necessarie that he performe, & doe soche feates, as he seeth doen of them, who been allowed for perfecte good plaiers on that instrumente. As he that hath verie sclender sight, in ministeryng Phisike, is not therefore a Phisician, because he is sente for, to take cure of pacientes, and hath by the comen voice of men, the name of a Phisician: so is not he by and by, a good gouernour in a comen weale, or a good officer, that is by the voice of the people so bruted, excepte he knowe also the right facion and waies to rewle the citee, and to kepe it in good order.

12. He saied, that it was a thyng, moche against all reason, where as no man setteth vp any handie crafte or occupacion, without his great shame and reproche, whiche hath not learned thesame afore, and wher no man will put to making a nest of boxes or a cupbourd full of almeries of Joigners werke, to one that neuer was a werkeman in that misterie: That to publike officers, soche persons should be admitted, as haue neuer giuen studie to those disciplines, without whiche no man maie be able accordingly, to execute a publike office. And where as euery bodie, without excepcion, would crie: fe on him, that would take vpon him

The art of gouerning a common weale.

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him to sitte and holde the stierne in a Shippe, hauing none experience in the feate of Mariner-shippe, Socrates saied, that thei were moche more to bee cried out vpon, whiche tooke in hande the regimente and gouernaunce of a common weale, beeyng vnexperte of that parte of Philosophie, whiche giueth preceptes and rewles, how to order a Citee or a Common weale.

¶ Neither did *Socrates* suppose that person, worthie to be called a craftie beguiler of men, whiche of some foolishe body (perswaded thereunto) did receiue and take either money, or some peece of plate, whiche he wer not able to repaie, but moche rather those persones, he pronounced worthie to be accoumpted deceiptfull, bobbers of men, whiche by fraude and gile, did make eche man beleue, that thei wer able men to take vpon them, the rewle and gouernaunce of the whole worlde, where as in deede, thei are but vilaines and slaues, nothing worthy to bee had in estimacion. This saiyng moche nerer toucheth christian princes, officers and Bisshoppes, then the Gentiles or infideles.

13. He was wonte to saie, that there is no possession or treasure more precious, then a true and an assured good frende, nor of any other thyng in the worlde besides, to be founde more good, profite, or els pleasure. And therefore, he saied, that many persones doe arsee versee, in that thei take the losse of a little money, more greuously at the harte, then the losse of a frende, and in that thei crie out and saie, thei haue cast awaie and lost a good tourne, beyng so bestowed, that thei haue not as good againe for it, whereas by thesame thei haue perhaps purchaced a frende, more to be set by then any gaines of money in the worlde.

A true frende is an high treasure.

They doe arsee versee that take the losse of money more greuiously then the losse of a frend.

14. As we doe not put images to makyng, but only to soche werkemen, of whom we see some nomber

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nomber of images welfauouredlie and minionlie made afore. So should wee take no persones vnto our frendship, but soche as wee perfectly knowe, to haue tried themselues faithfull, and seruiceable frendes to others aforetymes.

What maner persones ought to bee receiued into frendship.

15. Many men punishe in others thesame thinges in whiche theimselfes are offenders.

Of a certaine man, somewhat sharpely beatyng a bonde seruaunt of his own, Socrates asked, wherfore he was so vengeable eagre, Marie (quoth the other) because this knaue, whereas he is the greatest glutton and rauener of meates that maie be, yet is he the moste idle lubber aliue, and whereas he is the moste couetous felowe in the worlde, yet is he the moste slothfull that is possible to be. Then said Socrates, Haue ye neuer yet vnto this daie, cast well in your minde, whether of bothe hath more neede of coiling, ye, or your seruaunt?

¶ Would God, that euery bodie, whensoeuer thei rebuke & punishe in other persones, the same thyng that thei perdone in theimselfes (or if not thesame, a moche wurse thyng) would saie to theimselfes, that *Socrates* saied to that manne.

16. **Olympia*, were certain gaimes of renning & wrastling, whiche *Hercules* did first ordein in the honor of *Iupiter* to be celebrate and kepte euery 5 yere, in a certain place called *Olympia*, situate and lyng in the countree of *Achaia*, betwene

To a certain persone, whiche in deede would verie faine haue gon from home to the *Olympia, with the tediousnes of trauailyng so ferre a iourney, vtterly discouraged, thus saied Socrates: Whereas being here at home, thou walkest to and fro, oftseasons in maner all the whole daie, aswel afore diner, as before supper: if thou stretch the walkings that thou vsest at home, and laie theim on length, by the space of fiue or sixe daies together, thou shalt easily reache to Olympia.

¶ This high witted man did euidently shewe, that thyng that maketh vs false harted, in taking peines and labours, to be rather our imaginacion and conceipte,

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the 2. tounes *Elis*, and *Pisa*, in whiche *Olympia Iupiter* had a temple, and was therefore called *Iupiter Olimpicus*, or *Olympius*.

ceipte, then the verie laboures in deede. If any daunger, losse or trauaill must be susteined about any honest matters, wee finde excuses, we will none of it, it standeth clene against our stomackes, whereas in matters, not worth a blewe poinct (for I will not saie in thinges vnhonest) we wil spare for no cost: thus some persones being inuited and exhorted, to fall to the studie of letters, make their excuse that thei bee sickely, that thei can not slepe, ne take their naturall reste in the nightes, that bookes are verie chargeable: and yet in the meane tyme, thei will plaie all the whole night through at Dice, thei will with bollyng and drinking get the feuer, the goute, the hydropsie, & a paire of blered iyes: thei will with whore haunting catch the paulsie, or the great pockes, otherwise called the French pockes.

To take pein or trauaill in honest matters eache man findeth excuses.

Diseases of late banquetting and whorhaunting.

17. An other certain man complaining, that he was euen doggue wearie, and clene tiered with goyng a long iourney, Socrates asked, whether his boye had been hable enough to kepe foote with hym all the waie? He saied, yea. Went he leere (quoth Socrates) or els charged with the charge of any burden? He caried a good preatie packe on his necke, saied the man. And what? Dooeth the boie finde any faute, that he is werie, quoth Socrates? When the feloe had saied naie, And art thou not ashamed (said Socrates) of soche nicenes, that goyng on the waie emptie, and voide of any burden, thou shouldest be werie, sens that he hauyng caried a fardelle, complaineth not of wearinesse.

Nicenes and tendernes maketh man vnapt to labour.

¶ *Socrates* declared the seruaunt in this behalfe, to bee in moche better case then the maister, that for asmoche as he was better enured with labouryng he feeled lesse grefe of his labour.

18. It was a common guise, to tell folkes, thesame that

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that in other places is called, eatyng, or feastyng, to bee called in Greke emonges the Atheniens, εὐωχεῖσθαι, by the whiche worde he saied, that we wer put in remembraunce, that meate ought to be taken, with soche measure and sobrietee, as neither the bodie, nor the minde, might be ouercharged. Alludyng (I suppose) to this, that the Greke woorde, ὀχεῖσθαι, souneth in Englishe to be caried, wherof is deriued a nowne, ὀχεῖον in Englishe a carre. Albeit, ὀχὴ is Greke also for meate, and thereunto is added this sillable, εὖ, that vpon the bodie might not be laied a more heauie burden, then it wer wel able to awaie withal.

Repastes measurablie to bee taken.

¶ For this sillable, εὖ, in composicion of Greke vocables, betokeneth a certain facilitee & commodiousnes, annexed to the thing. Then εὐοχεῖσθαι is to bee not ouer full gorged, but to bee refreshed with a light repast, soche as the bodie maie easily, and without incommoditee awaie withal, taken by translacion of the easie lading or burden of a cart.

19. He saied, that vpon soche children especially, ought to be bestowed vertuous educacion, and good bringying vp, as wer best of birth, and came of the moste honeste parentage. For in soche is comonly seen (said he) thesame thyng that is seen in Horses, emong whom, soche as been Coltishe, or full of courage, and of kindly towardnes, if thei be broken in season, and well taught, euen while thei be verie young coltes, thei growe to bee pure bonie ones, and appliable to doe whatsoeuer a man will put them vnto: if otherwise, thei waxe skittishe past maistering, and good for no purpose. And therfore it chaunceth, that in maner all excellent goodlie wittes be marred, through default of skill in their teachers & bringers

The better of birthe that a childe is, the better ought his bringing vp to bee.

Excellent goodlie wittes marred by euill maisters.

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& bringers vp, who euen at the firste dashe, of quicke horses, maken verie dull Asses, because thei can no skill how to maister, haulte couraged stomackes, and soche hartes as will not be brought vnder, ne be made vilaines.

20. Many a tyme and ofte did he saie, that persone to doe like one without all shame, whiche, where as he made his oxen euery daie fewer and fewer, yet required in any wise, to be accompted a good cowheard: but yet a thyng moche more standing againste reason, if a man would desire to be reputed a good gouernour in a common weale, when he daily diminisheth the nomber of his people.

Critias and Charicles wer two of the thirtie tirannes in *Athenes.*

¶ These wordes he spake aferre of against *Critias* & *Charicles*, whiche had put to death, many of the Citezens, neither was thesame vnknowen vntò them. For *Critias* manaced and thretened hym, that onelesse he chambred his tongue in season, there should ere long be one oxe the fewer for hym. And what he thretened in woordes, he performed in deede. For, by the meanes of *Critias* was *Socrates* put to death.

21. He had chosen out of the old aucthours certaine verses, whiche he vsed verie often tymes for Prouerbes, emong whiche this verse of Hesiodus was one:

Idlenes euermore worthie blame.

Εργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργείη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.
No kinde of labour is a thing of shame.
But idlenes euermore, worthie blame.

Unfruitfull doinges bee as euill as idlenes

¶ By this verse he did counsaill young folkes, not onely from idlenes, but also from all vnprofitable or vnfruitfull accions. For, *Socrates* rekened theim also, in the noumber of idle persones, whiche spent all their tyme in dicyng, in reueling or banquetting, and in whorehuntyng.

22. Also this verse of Homere, as sheweth bothe Gellius and Laertius:

ὅττι

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ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι καλῶν τ' ἀγαθῶν τε τέτυκται.

That is.

What euer is doen eche where about,
As well within our hous as without.

¶ By this verse, he did not onely call back, soch as would giue eare to hym, from busie medleyng with other mennes matters, but also from al kindes of learnyng, beyng not necessarie to bee had: (as from the exacte knowlege of Astrologie, or of Geometrie, or of naturall causes, or of thinges supernaturall) to the knowlege of morall Philosophie, the perfect intelligence wherof doeth make, that we maie throughly knowe our selfes, and that wee maie gouerne & conueigh, aswell our own priuate matters, as also the publique affaires of the common weale accordingly, & to good purpose.

To be overfull of medleing in euery bodies matters.

what goodnes ensueth of the knowledge of morall Philosophie.

To the same purpose serueth this saiyng also, whiche is fathered on Socrates, and is of greate aucthoritee, What is aboue our reach, we haue naught to doe withall.

23.

whatso is aboue our reche we haue naught to doe withall.

¶ For, thus was he wont to aunswere menne, wondryng why he would euermore be reasonyng of maners, & of good behaueour, but neuer of the starres, nor of thinges gendred aboue in the aire, or of any* impressions there chauncyng.

*Soche naturalle effectes as bee doen nigh vnto the sterres, or (as ye would saie) aboue the reache of mannes familiare knowlege, are called in Greke, μετέωρα, as for example: the generacion of mistes, haile, raine, snowe, lightenyng, shoting of sterres, opening of the aire, blasing sterres, heggues that are seen in the feldes by night like Fierbrandes, or Torches, with soche other thinges. Of the naturall causes producing, and generacion of whiche things, *Aristotles* writeth 4 bokes, & entitleth them περὶ μετεώρων. But *Socrates* would neuer take vpon him, to determine soche thinges, as were aboue the compace of mannes familiare handeling.

When a certain feloe, had of a lasciuiousnes or malapertnes, giuen him a spurne on the shin, as he was goyng on his waie, in the strete: to soche as wondrede, that he could paciently suffre it, Why, what should I doe (quoth he?) when thei counsailled hym to take the law on the feloe: a gentle

24.

Paciently spoken.

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gentle teste (said Socrates:) if an Asse had giuen me a stripe with his heele, would ye haue saied to me, take the lawe on him?

Betwen a beast and a man of brutishe condicions there is no difference.

¶ He thought no difference to bee betwene an Asse, and a man behauyng hymself like a brute beast, & endewed with no vertue or honest qualitee, and to seem a thyng moche againste all reason, not to suffre at a mannes hande, that ye could finde in your harte, to abide of a brute beastes doyng.

25. A certain persone beyng of hym bidden good speede, saied to hym againe, neither buff ne baff. Neither was Socrates therewith any thing discontented. But his frendes meruaillyng thereat, and fumyng at the leude facion of the feloe, he saied as foloeth. If one should passe by vs, that had some wurse disease in his bodie then wee, none of vs would for that respecte, bee angrie with hym, why then should I bee displeased with this feloe, that hath a more cancarde stomacke then I haue?

The pacience of *Socrates*, and angre well refreined.

26. Euripides came and brought vnto Socrates, a booke of Heraclitus his writyng and makyng, whiche booke perused, Euripides asked, what he thought of it. By Iupiter (saied Socrates) that, that I haue been able to vnderstande, me thinketh to bee ioylie good stuffe, and of like goodnes I suppose to bee the residue also, whiche I haue not vnderstande. But wee haue neede of some yong Marlian to expoune the meaning of it.

Heraclitus was a Philosophier but he wrote so obscure & derke a stile, that scacely any man was able to vnderstande him, wherefore he was named σκοτεινὸς *Heraclitus* the derke.

¶ He did in this saiyng (not without a sharpe taunt and poinaunt checke) note the obscure and dercke stile, whiche thesaied writer with greate studie & labour, purposely sought to haue: wherof in deede he had this name giuen vnto hym σκοτεινὸς, that is: *Heraclitus* the Derke. Of the Prouerbe* *Delius natator* (for whom is here putte *Merlian)* I haue spoken at

Delius natator in the Greke

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at large in my werke of Greke and Latin Prouerbes, entitleed *Chiliades*.

Prouerbe, was called a cunnyng swimmer, that could keepe himself still aboue water, without perill of drouning. And *Socrates* applied that to the readers of *Heraclitus* bookes, meaning that except thei wer very cunning, thei should sone be drouned and choked, that is to saie: confused & set at a staie with reading thesame.

When Alcibiades had by the waie of free gifte offered him a faire large platte of grounde, to builde himself an hous vpon, What? (quoth Socrates) if I had neede of a paire of shooes, wouldest thou come and giue me a pece of leather, whereof to make my self a paire of shooes? And in case thou shouldst so do, wer not I worthie to be laughed to skorne if I tooke it? 27.

Alcibiades was a young gentle man in *Athenes* whose life *Plutarchus* writeth at large.

A gift that will doe no profite, is to be refused

¶ By this similitude he refused the gifte, whiche should stande him in no seruice.

In walking vp and doune in the mercate place, as he vewed on eche side the aboundaunce of wares, that were there to be solde, he vsed thus to saie to hymself, How many thynges haue I no neede of. 28.

The frugalitee of *Socrates*.

¶ But others bee sore vexed at their hartes, thus thinkyng: how many thynges doe I lacke. *Socrates* was of his owne behalfe ioyous and glad that liuyng accordyng to nature, and accustomed to the vse of fewe thynges, he neither was desirous to haue, nor yet did lacke, clothe of golde, of purple, precious stones, Iuerie, aresse hanginges, and the other delices of riche men whiche he verie many tymes, saied to bee thynges more apte and fit for disguisinges in stage plaies, then for any seruice, vse or occupiyng to the life of man necessarie. To whiche mening, he vsed these iambike verses of a certain greke poet whatsouer he was

τάδ' ἀργυρώματ' ἐστὶν, ἥτε πορφύρα
εἰς τοὺς τραγωδοὺς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον.
This siluer plate, and riche araie
Of purple hewe, doeth wonders well:

That is

For

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For disguisynges in a stage plaie,
Our life nedeth theim not a dele.

29. He saied that man to be moste like vnto the goddes, whiche feeled lacke of fewest thinges, sens that the goddes feele lacke of no maner thyng at all.

¶ But the common people thinketh nexte cousins or feloes to God hymself, to bee riche men, whose delices nothyng is hable to satisfie. For, of those is saied in one of the comedies of *Terence*, how ye lead your life in al ease and pleasure. And that dooeth *Homerus* attribute vnto the goddes, whom in many places he calleth *ῥᾶον ἄγοντας* liuing in al ease and pleasure. And he liueth in all ease and pleasure, that with a verie little, is throughlie contented and satisfied.

What persones liued in al ease and pleasure.

30. It was an other saiyng of his, that whoso eateth drie bread, with pleasure, thesame nedeth no meate to it. And to whom no maner drinke cometh not amisse, thesame requireth none other Cuppe, but soche as is readie in the waie.

Frugalitee.

Hounger and thirst, the beste sauce for al meates.

¶ For, hounger and thirst is for all thinges, the beste sauce in the worlde.

31. He said that it was a ready thing for euery man, if he had any notable good thinges of his owne, to name what it was, whereas it was a verie harde thyng, to name what true frendes he had, and yet no possession to bee more dere and precious or harder to come by, then a true frende.

No possession so good as to haue a true frende.

¶ In this saiyng, he checked the preposterous & ouerthwarte iudgemente, that the common sort of people haue of thinges, as the which passeth lest of that thing whiche ought to bee sette by moste of all. A bodie thinketh hymself well emended in his substaunce and riches, to whom hath happened some good gubbe of money, and maketh a great whinyng, if he haue had any losse of the same. But he that hath gotten

The preposterous iudge-

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gotten a good frende, thinketh himself in no more happie state, then he was afore, nor maketh any mournefull chere, when he hath loste a frende.

ment of the common people, in estemyng thinges.

Unto Euclides beyng verie studious of contencious conclusions, and cauillacions of subtile reasonyng, he said: Euclides ye maie percase matche with * Sophistes, but with men ye can not haue to dooe. 32.

¶ Signifiyng that Sophistrie dooeth no helpe, vse ne seruice to doings in publique affaires, or bearing offices in a common weale. Whiche publique offices, who so is a suiter to haue, it behoueth thesame, not to plaie Hicke Skorner with insolublès, and with idle knackes of Sophisticacions, but rather to frame and facion himself to the maners and condicions of menne, and to bee of soche sorte, as other men be.

He that wil liue emong men, must frame hymself to the facions of menne.

* *Sophistes* at the first beginning, wer men that professed to bee teachers of wisedom and eloquence, and the name of *Sophistes*, was had in honor and price, and thei wer of thesame estimacion, and of the verie same order, facultee and science, that afterward wer called *Rhetores*, that is *Rhetoricians*, yea, and also *Logicians*. For, when the *Sophistes* fell to cauilling, brabling and trifling, by little and little, their estimacion decaied, so that ere the time that *Socrates* liued in, a *Sophiste* was a name of contempte and hatered, and so is it yet still vnto this daie.

He saied, that science and cunnyng, is the onely good thing of the worlde: and contrariwise ignoraunce the onely euil thing. 33.

Science and cunnyng is the onelie good thing of the worlde,& ignoraunce the onelie euill thing.

¶ For, whatsoeuer persones dooe commit any vniuste thyng, thesame offenden in this behalfe, that thei be ignoraunt, what is to be doen toward euery partie, eche in his degree. And soche as be manfull hardie, for none other thyng bee manfull hardie, but in that thei know those thinges, worthie to bee sued for, and to bee desired, whiche the multitude demeth worthie to be abhorred. And soche as be intemperaunt, that is: foloers of their naughtie appetites and lustes, doe in this poinct erre, that thei thinke those thynges, to be sweete and honest, whiche are nothyng so. Therfore the higheste good thyng in the worlde, saied

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saied *Socrates*, to be the science or perfect knowlege of thinges, to be desired with harte and minde, and of thynges to be refused or auoided.

34. To a certaine man saiyng, that Antisthenes the philosophier; came of a mother that was of the countree of Thrace, and so by the waie of reuilyng or despite, laiyng to the charge of the same Antisthenes, that he was a moungrell, and had to his father a Citezen of Athenes, but to his mother a woman of a barbarous or saluage countree: What? (quoth Socrates) trowest thou that it had been possible for soche a ioilie man as Antisthenes, to be borne of a father and a mother, beeyng bothe of theim Atheniens?

The corrupte maners of the citee of *Athenes* in *Socrates* his tyme.

¶ Notyng the moste corrupt maners of the *Atheniens*, that moche rather of a *Thracian*, or of a *Scythian* might issue an honest or weldisposed manne then of an *Athenien*: & of all the honestee that *Antisthenes* had, he thoughte he might thanke his mother.

35. He saied, that of all possessions in the worlde, vacaunt tyme of leasure, is one of the verie best.

Tyme of vacacion well spent is an especiall good possession.

¶ But by vacaunt time of leasure, he meaned not slougging, loitryng, or slothfull idlenes, but to be quiete from troubleous rufflynges, and combrous buisinesse of the worlde, & from the affeccionate appetites, perturbyng and corruptyng, the tranquilitee of the mynde.

36. Of all the saiynges of his, there is none so moche taken vp, as that he saied, that he knewe nothyng, sauing onely this, that he knewe nothyng.

The humilitee of *Socrates*.

¶ For, he enquired of euerie thyng, as though he were in doubte: not that in deede he had no certain knowlege of any thing but by this drinesse, he did declare his owne modestie and softnes, and reproued the arrogancie of others, who professed and openly toke vpon them that thei wer ignoraunt of nothyng, where-

as

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as in deede thei knewe nothyng at al. Certain *Sophistes* did openly take vpon them, that thei would at the first sight, make aunswere to all maner matters, that should bee laied afore them, or put to theim: the presumptuous ignoraunce of soche persones, did *Socrates* oft times blanke and confounde. And for this verie thing and none els (as himself toke and expouned the matter) was he by the voice or testimonie of the God *Appollo*, iudged a perfect wise man, because that albeit he had ignoraunce of all thinges, like as other men had: yet in this behalf he was aboue them, that he knowleged his ignoraunce, whereas the residue wer vnknowyng of this thing also, that thei perfectly knew nothing.

The arrogancie of *Sophistes*.

Laertius ascribeth to hym this saiyng also: To haue well begonne, is a thing halfe doen.

37. *Laertius* is a Greke aucthour, that writeth the liues of al thauncient Philosophiers.

¶ For he saied: That he had euen now alreadie finished halfe his werke, who had ones entered and begonne. For, some there be, that in lingeryng and driuyng foorthe, and consultyng, spenden out all their life. The saiyng is halfe a verse of the Greke Poete *Hesiodus*:

ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός.

Beginnyng, is halfe of the whole.

These persones, that bought thinges, made ripe by art, ere thei wer full in season, at high prices, he saied to be in dispaire, lest thei should not liue, vntill thesame might be through ripe.

38. As greene geese, strauburies, cherries, peason, quadlinges, damasenes, wines, &c.

¶ Excepte it bee for soche a respect, a greate folie it is, to buie soche thynges, bothe with more charge, & also the thinges being not yet come to their goodnesse: but beyng wurse then shortly after thei would be, whereas within a while, after thei maie haue thesame thinges, bothe for lesse money, and twise as good. Thus did he by all waies possible, call backe vnto a sober iudgement, the desireful appetites and lustes of men, beyng voide of reason.

Foolishe haste, and nedelesse.

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39. At a certain time when Euripides, was in soche wise, treatyng of vertue, that he brought in these woordes,

Κράτιστον εἰκῇ ταῦτ' ἐᾶν ἀφειμένα.

These thynges, at auenture in this case,
It is best of all, euen to let passe.

As though vertue might by no meanes possible be founde out. Up stoode Socrates, saiyng: That it was a madde thing, whereas wee thinke it labour well bestowed for our slaue, lackey, or page (if he be not found at the first sekyng) still to make ferther enquierie, vntill he bee founde out: to Judge vertue vnworthie any soche diligent searchyng, that thesame maie at length be found out, if it com not to a man at the first assaiyng.

Vertue though it come not at the first, yet by diligent seking at length, it may be founde out.

40. Beyng asked of a certaine young man, whether of these twoo thinges, he thought better for hym, to marrie a wife, or not to marry: Whether of bothe thou doe (said he) it will turne thee to sorowe.

To marrie or not to marrie, bothe waies bryng repentaunce.

¶ Signifiyng aswell to liue out of wedlocke, as to liue in Matrimonie, to haue disquietynges, and vexacions annexed vnto it, the whiche vexacions vtterly to endure, it was necessarie to prepare the mynde afore. To liuyng a single life, is annexed solitarines, or lacke of companie, lacke of issue, vtter decaiyng, and wearyng out of the name, a straunger to enherite your gooddes and possessions, after your deceasse. With matrimonie cometh carefulnesse without ende, continuall querelyng and complainyng, to be caste in the teeth, and to haue daiely in your dishe, the dourie that your wife brought with her, the soure browbendyng of your wifes kinsfolkes, the tattelyng toungue of your wifes mother, liers in awaite to make thee cuckolde, the doubtfull ende or proofe and vncertaintee, what your children shall come to, with other incommodities & displeasures innumerable.

The incommoditees of liuyng out of wedlock

The incommodities of liuing in matrimonie.

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able. And therfore in this case, ther is no soche chosing as is betwene good and euill, but soche, as is betwene lighter, and more greuous incommoditees.

One of his frendes, complainyng and findyng fault that in Athenes, the prices of all thynges was verie high, for wine that was called Chium, should stande a man in xx. s. an hogeshed, purple silke, or crimasin would coste after the rate of three poundes the yearde: a pinte of honie. xx. d. He tooke hym by the hande, & led hym into his boultyng house, saiyng, of this maie ye haue a pinte for an halfpenie, therfore is corne nothing deere, but cheape inough. From thens ledyng hym to his storehous of Oliues, of this (saieth he) ye maie haue a quarte for twoo brasse pens. And therefore, not all thynges in the Citee bee dearelie solde.

41. *Vinum Chium* of the Isle *Chios* where it was made. *Hemina* was the halfe measure of *Sextarius*, whiche *Sextarius* was the 6. part of a Galon, so that *Sextarius* was lesse then our quart, & *Hemina* lesse then our pint, at lestwise if the galon measure emong the *Athenians* in old time wer equall with the galon measur that we vse now. Where none excesse is vsed all things ar good cheape.

¶ He that is contented with a little, and satisfied with thinges necessarie, is as good as a clarke of the mercate, to make all thinges good cheape, for his owne vse and occupiyng.

Archelaus the king had called Socrates to his seruice, promisyng vnto hym many gaie thinges. Socrates made answere, that he would not come to hym, of whom he should receiue any benefites, sens that he was not able to giue hym as good againe.

42. *Archelaus* king of Macedonia. *Socrates* refused to take giftes, whiche he was not able to recompense.

¶ This saiyng dooeth *Seneca* improue, For that a Philosopher (saith he) persuading the contempt of golde and siluer, giueth a greater gifte, then if he should giue golde and siluer.

Seneca was a great manne in Roome, & a noble Philosophier, scholmaister vnto themperour Nero by whom he was put to death, after that he had writen many excellent goodlie bookes of morall Philosophie.

On a certain time, when he was come home again from the mercat place, he said emong his frends: I wold haue bought a robe if I had had money.

43.

He

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Socrates could lack nothing emong his scolers.
* He that giueth a thing after that it is asked, geueth it ouer late.

¶ He craued nothyng, but did onely after a maidenly sort, giue a biworde of his greate penury. Anon emong the frendes of *Socrates* was moche high suite, of whiche of their giftes *Socrates* should haue this cloke. And * yet who so euer gaue it after that woorde spoken (as *Seneca* writeth) gaue it ouerlate.

44. Unfruitful beyng from home in straunge countrees.
*That is, vsyng thesame facions which thou diddest at home.

To a certaine persone complainyng, that goyng into straunge Countrees, for learnyng and knowledge, had nothyng auailed him: Not without cause (quoth Socrates) hath that chaunced vnto thee: for thou wer in straunge places stil * accompanied with thy self.

¶ Many folkes, thinke prudence to be gathered by rouing into ferre countrees, where as *Horacius* crieth out, saiyng.

Cœlum, non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.
Who renneth ouer sea, from place to place.
Though he chaunge aire, his mind is as it was.

A man may come home from beyond the sea, as wise & as well learned as he wente forth, except he seeke to vse the companie of wise and learned men.
* The pacience of *Socrates*.

The companie and conuersacion of wise and perfect good men, bredeth knowlege and experience of the worlde, not the mountaines and the seas.

45. When he had caught a good cuffe on the eare, of a feloe in the strete, he * answered nothing els, but that men had no knowledge, at what seasons thei should come abrode, with their salettes on their heddes.

¶ A thing moche like to this, doeth *Laertius* father vpon *Diogenes*.

46. He saied that he woundered, where the cunning makers of images in stone or metalle, did with all their possible studie and diligence, the vttermust of their power, that a stone might be in figure and shape, euen verie like vnto a liuelie creature, that thei did not semblably prouide, that themselfes might not bothe appere, and also be in verie deede, like vnto stones insensate.

In

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¶ In deede, some writers there be of this opinion, that *Socrates* before he diuerted to spende his tyme in Philosophie, was a werker of imagerie in stone. ☞ And that is the cause, why he doeth make the most part of all his similitudes, by images of Maceons werk.

Socrates a maker of stonie Images, afore he went to the studie of Philosophie.

He exhorted young springalles, euer now and then, earnestlie to vewe and behold themselfes in a glasse, to the ende, that if thei wer beautifull, and of good feacture of bodie, thei should beware to commit nothyng vncomely for thesame: if otherwise, that the defaultes of the bodie, might with exercise, or furniture of the wit, & with honestee of maners & behaueor be redubbed. 47.

Young folkes to vewe themselfes in a glasse.

The defautes of the bodie must with honestee of maners be redubbed.

¶ So duelie did that gaie manne (of all maner thinges) promptly take occasion, to auise and exhort al persons, to the earnest appliyng of vertue.

He had sodainly called twoo or three welthy riche men, to supper with him: and his wife Xantippe, takyng greate care for the matter, because the prouision was verie sclender. Take no discomfort (saied he) for, if thei be menne of an housbandlike or thriuyng sort, and any thing sobre of diet, thei will take it in good part: if otherwise, we ought not to haue any regard of any of them all. 48.

Xantippe, was *Socrates* his wife the curstest queene that euer wetted cloute. Honest geastes taken all maner fare in good parte.

¶ Bothe the one part, and the other of this sentence, might iustlie shake of from vs, al the curious & chargeable pompeousnes & desire to excede in receiuing geastes to diner or supper.

The fowerth *Apothegmata* afore of *Socrates* and this is in a maner al one.

He saied, that many persones doe liue purposly euen to eate and drinke: and that he contrariwise, did eate and drinke, to the end that he might preserue his life. 49.

Some persons liue onely to be gluttons.

¶ For that he vsed these thynges, not for sensualitee of the bodie, but for the necessitee of nature. This

Feede onely to maintein life.

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This sentence did the Poete thus expresse, in one of his Satires woorde for woorde.

Non viuas vt edas, sed edas, vt viuere possis.

Liue not as a glutton, still for to eate.
But feede to maintain life, by thy meate.

50. Those persones, whiche would giue credence vnto the vnlearned, and vnexperte multitude of the people, Socrates affirmed to doe euen like, as if a man refusyng one peece of money of fower grotes, would not take it in paimente, and yet a greate nomber of like refuse peces, cast in an heape together, he would allowe for currauntt, and receiue them in paimente.

He that is not to be trusted by himself, is not to be trusted in a multitude, of soche like as he is.

¶ Whom ye would not trust by hymself alone, is not one whitte better to be trusted, in a greate rable of soche like feloes as hymself is: for it forceth not how greate a nomber thei be, but how graue and substanciall. A counterfaict pece of coigne, be it euen in neuer so greate an heape, is a counterfaict peece. This maketh against the estemyng of witnesses, by the multitude of theim, and againste the iudgementes of the common people, beyng vnlearned.

51. *Æschines* was afterwarde a Greke oratour, and at continuall strief with *Demosthenes*. His saiyngs foloe in this same werke.

When Æschines sued, to be one of the nomber of Socrates his disciples and scholars, and did shamefastly laie pouertee for his excuse, saiyng, that it was a great greef vnto him, where the other frendes of Socrates, beyng wealthie, gaue vnto hym many greate giftes, that he had nothyng for to giue, excepte his owne self: Dooest thou not vnderstande (quoth Socrates again) how great a present thou hast brought and giuen me, excepte percase thou estemest thy self at a lowe price? Therefore, I shall doe my diligence, that I maie restore thee home again to thy self, a better man then I receiued thee.

The gentle towardnes of *Socrates* in receiuyng scholars.

The office of a good Scholemaister.

¶ Other *Sophistes* whereas thei taught nothing but mere

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mere trifles, yet thei would receiue, ne take not a scholare, without a greate fee. But *Socrates* tooke this poore man, euen with a good will, as the greate riche gentlemen.

When a certaine persone tolde hym newes, saiyng the Atheniens haue Iudged thee to death: Euen so hath nature doen theim, quoth he againe. 52. Death common to all persones, though to some one waie to some an other.

¶ Meanyng, that it is no verie greate shrewde tourne, if a bodie be violentlie put to death, assured naturally to bee dedde ere long after, although no man should slea hym. Albeit certaine writers ascribyng this saiying to the Philosophier *Anaxagoras*.

Unto his wife, after the womennes facion waillyng, and saiyng: Ah my sweete housbande, thou shalt dye nothing guiltee, and without any offence doyng: What, wife (saith he) haddest thou rather, that I should dye an offender? 53. Better to die an innocente then an offender.

¶ The death of good men, euen for this poinct is not to be wailled, that thei bee put to execucion without deseruyng: but thei been double worthie to be wailled for, which suffre death for hainous offences, but yet of the two a moche more miserable thing it is, to haue deserued punishement, then to haue suffred. The death of goodmen is not to be wailled. A moche more miserable thing to haue deserued punishment then to haue suffred.

Thesame daie that Socrates should drinke the poison, one *Apollodorus (for to comfort him by soche meanes as he could) cam and brought vnto hym a riche robe, of a greate valour, that he might haue it on his backe, at his diyng houre. But he refusing the gift, What (saieth he) this robe of myne own here, which hath been honest enough for me in my life tyme, woll it not be euen like honest for me, after I bee departed out of the worlde? 54. In Athenes the facion was, that persones condemned to death should drinke tempred with wine, the iuice of Hemlocke, whiche is so extreme cold, that when the heat of the wine doeth sodainly conuey it to the hart, it is verie poison & death reme-

¶ Utterly damning the pompeous facion of some people, with wonderfull high studie, makyng prouision afore

dilesse. For immediatly shall the extreme partes of the

afore hande, that thei maie be caried to their buriall, & that thei maie be laied in their graues, with all worship possible.

body (as the handes and feete) waxe cold, and so by little and little, the colde waxeth to the harte, & as sone as it striketh to the hart, there is no remedie, but death out of hand. Albeit, if one drinke thesame iuice, first by it self alone not tempred with wine, there is remedie enough. For, if one drinke a good draught of wine after it, the heate of the wine, shall ouercome the colde of the herbe, and driue it from the harte and so saue the life.

* This *Apollodorus* was of *Athenes*, a Poete that wrote comedies, ther was an other *Apollodorus* of thesame citee, a teacher of Grammer, there were also fower mo of thesame name, but of other countrees.

55. Unwrathfullie spoken.

To one bringyng hym woorde, that a certaine feloe did speake euill of hym: and gaue him a verie euil report. Marie (quoth Socrates) he hath not learned to speake well.

Thei that giue vs euill reporte not of a iudgemente, but of a cancardnesse of harte, are to be contempned

¶ Imputyng his toungesore, not vnto maliciousnesse: but vnto the default of right knowlege. Neither did he iudge to perteine to hym, what soche persones talked on hym, as dooe speake of a cancardnesse of stomacke, & not of a iudgemente.

56. Of the secte of the *Ciniques* in thesame place.

When Antisthenes a Philosophier of the secte of the Ciniques, did weare vpon his backe a robe, with a great hole or rupture in it, and by turnyng thesame rupture outwarde, did purposely shewe it, that euery bodie might looke vpon it: Through the rent of thy cloke (quoth Socrates) I see thy peignted sheath, and vain gloriousnesse.

Pride maie as well be in sack cloth, as in rich araie.

The cloisterers wer ful of pride ambicion and vainglorie.

¶ Featelie notyng, that vainglorie of poore garmentes and couer clothyng, is moche more shamefull and abhominable, then of gorgeous apparell, or galaunt araie. And would God there wer not emong vs christian menne, many *Antisthenes*, whiche vnder a rustie, a course, & a sluttishe vesture, hidden more pride and ostentacion, then the riche gentlemen haue in their veluettes, and fine silkes. ☞ This was verified in England also, vntill the deuill had his Monkes, Freeres, Nunnes, and other cloisters again.

57. To a certaine persone, wondryng that he was not

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not greuously moued in displeasure against one, by whom he was shamefully railed at, and reuiled. He railleth not on me (quoth Socrates) for the thynges that he speaketh are not in me, nor take any holde on me.

Unwrathfullie spoken.

¶ But the moste part of people, is euen for this verie cause, the more testie and fumishe, if ought be spoken against one, hauyng not deserued thesame. Good men when thei be euill spoken of, ar glad of their own behalfes, that thei be clere of those mischiefes, whiche are put vpon them, and laied vnto their charge, nor doe take it to be spoken against them: no not a whitte more, then if a feloe beeyng deceiued in his iye sight, should call *Plato* by the name of *Socrates*, & should call *Socrates* all that naught were, and speake all the mischief possible againste *Socrates*: that feloe railleth not on *Plato*, but on him whom he supposeth that *Plato* is.

Good men reioice that thei be clere of soch mischieues as bee putte vpon theim.

58. The olde comedie vsed commonlie to make iestyng and scoffyng, at the citezens by name. The plain open speaking of whom where many did feare, Socrates saied, to be expedient, that a man should wetyngly and willyngly, come in the presence or waie of them. For if thei speake any thing against vs (saieth he) worthie to be rebuked, being told of it, we shal emend it, and so thei maie in deede doe vs good: but if thei shall spoute, railyng, slaunderous, or reprochefull wordes againste vs, and no truthe in theim, it nothyng toucheth vs.

And because there cam moch striefe & debate thereof, a decree was made that no man should be named to his reproche, & that was called the newe comedie. Railing againste vs, without truthe, nothyng toucheth vs.

59. Socrates after that he had within dores forborne his wife Xantippe, a greate while scoldyng, and at the last beyng wearie, had set him doune without the strete doore, she beyng moche the more incensed, by reason of her housbandes quietnesse and stilnesse, powred doune a pisse bolle

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The pacience of *Socrates.*

bolle vpon hym out of a windore, and al beraied him. But vpon soche persones as passed by, laughing and hauing a good sport at it, Socrates also for his part, laughed again as fast as the best, saiyng: Naie, I thought verie well in my minde, and did easily Prophecie, that after so greate a thonder, would come a raine.

Merily spoken and paciently withall.

60. To Alcibiades greatly wondryng that he could take so continualle pacience with Xantippe in his hous, beyng soche an vnreasonable scoldyng brathell: I haue (saied he) now a long season, been so well enured with soche maner geare, that I am therewith no more offended, then if I should heare the squekyng of a wheele, that draweth vp water out of a welle.

The pacience of *Socrates.*

The scoldyng of brathels, is no more to bee passed on, then the squeking of well wheles.

¶ For that maner squekyng, soche persones maie verie euill abide, as haue not been accustomed vnto it, and he that daily heareth thesame, maie so well awaie with it, that to his knowlege, heareth it not.

Custome easeth the tediousnes of incommoditees

61. To thesame Alcibiades saiyng a moche like thing, Why, euen your self (quoth Socrates) doe ye not paciently suffer at home in your hous, the cacklyng of Hennes, when thei make a clockyng? Yes, I lette them alone (saied Alcibiades) but my Hennes laie me egges, and bring me forthe Chekins. And my sweete spouse Xantippe (quoth Socrates) bringeth me forthe children.

Wiues must bee suffred for bringing foorthe children.

62. Some there be that suppose Socrates to haue kept in his hous twoo wiues at ones Myrtho and Xantippe. Therfore to a certain man greatly meruailyng to what vse he kept twoo women at ones (especially beyng scoldyng quennes, euer chidyng and braulyng) and did not beate or driue them out of his dores, thus he saied: These women dooe teache me at home within the hous, the pacience and suffraunce, which I must vse, when, I am

Socrates had ii. wiues at ones, *Myrtho* and *Xantippe.*

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am abrode forthe of dores. Beyng exercised afore, and well broken with the facions of these ii, I shalbe the better, and more gentle to liue or to deale withall, for the companie of other men.

¶ The demaunder of this question *Aulus Gellius* maketh *Alcibiades.*

Aulus Gellius a Latin writer of elegancies for the Latine tongue, and of other many pretie rehersalles and discussynges of diuers thinges.

When Xantippe had pulled awaie her housebandes cope from his backe, euen in the open strete, and his familiar companions gaue hym a by warnyng, to auenge soche a naughtie touche or pranke, with his tenne commaundementes: gailie saied (quoth he) Yea Marie, that while she and I be touzing and topleyng together, ye maie crie to vs, on, now go to Socrates, an other holde thyne owne Xantippe. 63. Merelie spoken, and pacientlie withall.

¶ For, with soche maner woordes doen the lookers on, chere and harten twoo parties, matched and sette together by the eares. But this wise man, thought better to shew of himself an example of pacient suffraunce then to shewe a gase or sight, for folkes to laughe at, in striuyng or contendyng with his wife.

To one demaundyng, why he had and kept in his hous the saied Xantippe, beyng a woman of soche condicions and facions, as no man might well awaie withall, or abide he saied: that men ought in like maner, to liue with crabbed and testie wiues, as thei that exercise and practise theim selues, to the feate of beyng good horsemen, get horses of feerse stieryng natures, and of rough condicions: which if thei haue ones throughly maistered, and made to the bridle, and bee able at all assaies to abide: thei shall haue all other horses as gentle and easie to rewle, as thei can desire. And semblablie, he that hath learned to beare, 64. The gentlenes and pacience of *Socrates.* Crabbed wives be compared to rough stieryng horses. He that can abide a curst wife needeth not to fear

what companie he liueth in.

beare, with the facions of a crabbed and testie wife, shall with moche more ease be able to company with al others, of what sort so euer thei be.

65. *Lysias* was an orator in *Athenes* and a frende of *Socrates*, and a man (as saieth *Quintilianus*) of swete and pleasaunt eloquence.

When Lysias had rehersed, and read over vnto Socrates an oracion, whiche he had made for Socrates, to pronounce in the defence of hymself before the Judges: It is a ioily and an elegaunt oracion, saied he, but it is nothyng conueniente nor comelie for Socrates.

Not all maner oracions will serue for almaner persones.

¶ For, it was more fitte to be made of some man of lawe, in pleadyng a courte matter or a case in lawe, then to be pronounced by a Philosophier, and namely by soche a Philosophier as Socrates. Again to thesame *Lysias* demaundyng, for what cause if he iudged the oracion to be good, he thought it to be inconuenient for hym.

Why, saied Socrates, is it not a thyng possible, that a garment, or a shoe maie be galauntly made and wel facioned, and yet thesame not be mete for some bodies wearyng.

¶ This self same historie doeth *Valerius Maximus* report, after a more churlishe sort, & more vnlike to the maners of *Socrates*. For, he reporteth *Socrates*, in this wise to haue made answere vnto *Lysias:* awaie with thissame I beseche thee hartily. For, if I could by any meanes bee brought, to pronounce this oracion, from the beginnyng to the endyng, euen in the ferthest and vttermoste wildernesse, of the barbarous countree of *Scythia*, then would I graunte and yelde myself well worthy to suffre death.

66. Boldnesse and trust on a mannes well doing and on an vpright conscience.

When thei that sate in iudgemente vpon Socrates, could not agree emong themselues, what punishmente Socrates was worthie to suffre, Socrates euen of himself sodainly brake out and saied: for the thynges that I haue doen, I my self iudge and giue sentence, that I am worthie to

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to haue my findyng allowed, & assigned for terme of life, out of the chamber of the citee, in the Pritanei.

πρύτανις *Pritanis* in greke was the same officer that we cal president of the Counsaill, and chief or hed of all the rewlers. Whiche office he that had in *Athenes*, had assigned vnto him out of the Cofers and chamber of the citee, an honourable and a greate liuing in the *Prytanei*, that is to saie: in the chief place of the tower or castle of the citee, where the said hed counsaillour had his lodgeing and dwelling place. That

¶ For that honour was wonte to be shewed and doen to soche menne, as had doen some especiall gaie benefite, to the common weale. *Marcus Tullius* in the firste booke, intitled * of a perfite Oratour, reherseth this historie. There was (saieth he) in *Athenes*, when any persone was vpon arainment condemned (if it were not by the lawe a penaltee of death) as ye would saie a sette fine, and an ordinarie forfeite of money, at the arbitriment, pleasure, and discrecion of the iudges, when the partie arained, or defendaunt was ones yelded into the handes of the iudges: he was asked what fine he would confesse hymself, verie well to haue deserued to paie, whiche thyng, when *Socrates* was asked, he answered, that he had well deserued, to bee aduaunced with verie high honours and rewardes, and to haue continuall findyng, for terme of life, of the charges of the Citee, freely allowed vnto him, whiche honour and preeminence, was estemed and accompted the highest, that could be emong the Grekes, with whose answer, the iudges wer so set on fire with anger, that thei condemned to death, the moste innocent persone of the world.

if it chaunced any man to dooe vnto the citee, some singular and incomparable benefite then had he a lordes liuing, or an honorable porcion to liue on, assigned out of the chamber of the Citee, and was allowed with the president of the counsaill, duryng his life, and this was the highest honour that might bee emong the Grekes. And this did *Socrates* claime, as one that with good enstruccion & bringing vp of youth in vertue and good maners, and in right moral Philosophie, had doen as high benefite to the common weale, as did the chief counsaillours of the citee, and that he thereby had deserued, as good and as beneficiall a liuing, as the best of them all.

* *Marcus Tullius* writeth twoo volumes entitled in Latine, *De oratore*, that is of a perfite oratour, whiche werke himself reketh the best that euer he made.

Socrates met full but with Xenophon in a narrow back lane, wher he could not stert from him, when he espied him to be a young stripling of rare towardnes, & like to proue so well as fewe did, he held out his staffe, & charged him, that he should 67.

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The auctoritee of *Socrates* in matters of philosophie

should not a foote ferther. Assone as he stode stil, Socrates asked of him where sondrie wares were made & sold, that men did commonly occupie, when Xenophon had therunto redily and quickly shaped an answer: Socrates eftsones demaunded, in what place of the Citee, men wer made good, honest, and vertuous, when the young man had answered, that he was of that matter ignoraunt: then come with me (quoth Socrates) that thou maiest learne.

Fewe persones knowe or take heede where vertue is to be learned.

How *Xenophon* became scholar vnto *Socrates*.

¶ For, that tyme forthward begon *Xenophon* to be disciple and scholare vnto *Socrates*. It is a thing contrary to all good reason, to haue knowlege, where thou maiest be serued of a welfauored and clenly garment, or of a faire cuppe, and to be ignoraunt, where thou maiest purchace the good furniture of the mynde and soule. ☞ That is vertue and cunnyng.

The furniture of the mynde.

68. On a certain time as he was walking before his doore a greate pace, euen till the going awaie of the daie light, when one of the folkes that passed by, had saied: What meane ye Socrates, by thus doyng: I procure my self some cates for my Supper (quoth he) meaning of houngre, whiche he prouoked with chasyng vp and doune, ☞ *Marcus Tullius* doeth set it out with these wordes: That I maie suppe the better, I doe with walking procure hungre, for my chief cates & viandrie.

One of the best dishes at supper, is hounger

69. His saiyng was, that sweete sauours & swete oiles, wer to be let alone for women and as for in young men, no sweete sauour to haue a better smell, then the oile whiche thei occupied in exercisyng their bodies, at the prouyng of maisteries, or at werke.

Sweete sauours and oiles, been more meete for women then for menne.

The sweete sauours, mete for menne

¶ For with oile of baulme, or of Spike, a slaue and a gentleman, haue bothe of theim by and by, one maner sauour.

Being

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Being asked wherof it was most comely for aged men to smell: Of honest and vertuous disposicion (quoth he) then beyng eftsones asked, where pomanders therof were to bee solde: he rehearsed this verse of the Greke Poete Theognis.

70. Of what sauour it is comely for aged men to smelle.

ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄτ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεαι.

Of honest men, wheresoeuer thei bee.

Ye maie at all tymes, learne honestee.

Xenophon emong other bokes writeth one, whiche he entiteleth *συμπόσιον*, that is the banquet.

¶ Diuerse sentences of this sorte, *Xenophon* heapeth together in his banquet.

When a certain riche man had sent his sonne, being a proper ladde vnto Socrates, for to examin and trie his towardnesse, and the tutour that had been the bringer vp of thesame, from his childhood, had said in this wise: The father of this ladde, hath sent him vnto you Socrates, that ye should haue a sight of him: by and by said Socrates to the child: Speake some what then, goode sonne, that I maie see thee. 71.

¶ Signifiyng that the disposicion of a manne, doeth not shewe so clere in his face or visage, as in his talkyng, for, this is the moste sure and true glasse, of the harte and minde, and fewest tymes liyng.

A mannes talking doth more clerely shew his condicions then doeth his face.

He saied that the woman kinde, if thesame bee diligently enstructed and taught, is no lesse apt then men are, to take aswell all maner disciplines, or facultees of learning, as also all maner vertues moral, yea euen fortitude and hardinesse, whiche as though it should properly appertein onely to men, and not to women, is called by the Greke vocable *ἀνδρία*, in Englishe, manhood, or manlie hardinesse. 72.

The woman sexe is no lesse apt to learne al maner thynges then men are.

ἀνδρία Manhood.

¶ This did he gather by the sight of a maiden, that was a dauncer and a tumbler, who beyng brought in, where company sate at a table, did with wondrous sleight and conueighaunce cast vp, and receiue again one

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one after an other, twelue trendles or roundelles, the space of the heigthe, and the measures of footyng the daunce, so tempered and proporcioned, that she neuer missed. And thesame maiden, where the lokers, on quaked and trembled for feare, daunced without any feare at all emong sweardes and kniues, beyng as sharpe as any thyng.

73. *Agatho* was a young gentleman of *Athenes* of excellent beautie and fauour.

As Socrates beyng bidden to a supper by one Agatho, was going with trick voided shoes on his feete, and perfumed with sweete sauours, and that contrary to his accustomed vsage: when he was asked of a frende of his, that mette hym on the waie, why he was more nette and piked at that season, then he had vsed to be aforetymes? He saied merily in this wise: That to soche a minion feloe as Agatho is, I maie go trim nette, and well beseen.

¶ Where in deede there was no man aliue, that had lesse mynde or phantasie to soche thynges.

74. Pleasure and pein, by course folowen either other.

The same daie that Socrates should drinke the poison, when he after the striking of, of his shacles or fetters, had feled great pleasure of clawing where it itched, he said to his frendes: How wonderfully is it of nature ordeined, that these twoo thinges doe by course, feloe either other, pleasure, and greef: for, excepte pein and greef, had proceeded or gone afore, I should not now haue feeled this pleasure.

75. The poison that *Socrates* should dye of, he called a medicine.

Of the vnder gaillour, deliueryng vnto him the iuice of Hemlocke in a cuppe, he demaunded, how that medecine was to be taken? Forasmoche as the same officer was well practised, and could good skill in that science.

Alludyng to the sick folkes that is: vsyng soche wordes

¶ Alludyng to the sicke folkes, who doe learne of the Phisicians, when and how it is best to receiue a medicinable drink, that thei haue made. And when the

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the seruaunt had answered, that he muste vp with it, all at a draught if he could, & that after it he must walke vp and doune so long vntill he feele soche weakenesse & feblenesse, that he should drawe his legges after hym, and that after this he must lye hym doun in his bedde, vpright vpon his backe, and then the drinke would werke his wonted effect: *Socrates* enquired, whether he might not leefully poure out some parte thereof, in the waie of sacrificyng, and taking assaie to the Goddes, because in merie diners, suppers, & banquettes, it was the guise and facion (a little quantitee of the wine poured out) to sacrifice thesame, in the waie of assaie to some God by name (whiche was called in Greke λείβειν, and in Latine, *Libare*). The officer answered, that he had tempered so moche and no more, as was requisite for the purpose, meaning by those wordes that there was none thereof spare, to bee poured out. Then saied *Socrates*, Well, yet is it bothe leeful and also requisite to beseche the goddes, that this my passyng out of this worlde, maie bee happie and fortunate.

and termes, as if the gaillour had been a Phisician and he a sicke man & the gaillours paciente.

In feastes and diners, the gise was to powre out a little of the drink in the waie of Sacrifice, and taking assaie to some one of the Gods.

When the vnder officer of the prison had vncouered hym, and laied hym naked, because he was now alredie cold at the hart. ¶ And should therevpon die immediatlie: Crito (quoth Socrates) we bee now endebted to the God Aesculapius of a cocke, whiche dulie to paie in no wise bee ye negligente. 76.

Aesculapius the sonne of *Appollo* the first inuentour and practiser of Phisicke. Whom for that science the antiquitee, honored as a God, and soche as recouered from any disease, did sacrifice vnto *Aesculapius* a liue Cocke. But the Poetes doe fable that he was slain, with lightening of *Jupiter*, because he had with his cunnyng of Phisike, restored *Hippolitus* again to life,

¶ Euen as though he had vpon the takyng of a medicinable drinke, perfectly recouered againe all his health. For * *Crito* had afore dooen, all that euer he might possible doe, that *Socrates* should make meanes to saue his life. And in *Socrates* there was so roted

* *Crito* was an honest citezen in *Athenes*, and a true frend vnto *Socrates*, and the other as good, and as louyng a frende againe to hym in all poinctes, of mutuall familiaritee.

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a certain vein of honest merines, euen naturally geuen him in his cradle, that he could ieste & speake merilie, euen at the houre of death, for these are reported to haue been the last wordes that euer he spake.

77. The beautee of minds, is more to be loued than the beautee of the bodies.

He taught that the beautee of the myndes, is moche more to be fauoured, then of the bodies, and that thesame pleasure, which a welfauored face when it is loked on, doeth engender in vs, is to bee translated and remoued, to the beautie of the mynde, ferre excedyng the other in fairenesse, albeet liyng hidden from the bodily iye. But to haue a sight thereof, Philosophicall iyes to bee requisite and necessarie.

¶ He noted the Greke vocable φιλεῖσθαι, to bee of significacion indifferent to kissyng or louyng, of whiche twoo thynges, the former perteineth to them that doe carnally loue the bodie, the other to soche as doe vertuouslie loue the mynde.

78. *Socrates* died in perfite securitee.

A holy kinde of diyng, in a Gentile or Heathen manne.

Unto Crito after a verie earnest facion counsaillyng and auisyng him, that if he for his owne part, passed not on his life, yet at least wise he should preserue thesame, and continue in his former good state and condicion, for the respect of his children, being euen then but little babes, and for his frendes sakes, whiche had all their staie in him. As for my children (saied he) God, who gaue theim vnto me, shall take care. And as for frendes, when I depart from hens, I shall find either like vnto you, or els better then ye be, and yet I shal not long be defrauded of the companie of your selues neither, for asmoche as ye are like shortely, to come to dwelle euen in the self same place, that I now go vnto.

79. Honest and vertuous loue.

Those persones, whiche doe beare carnall loue onely to the bodie, Socrates affirmed to be moche like vnto Phisicians, that be euer nedie, and that still

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still do call on their pacientes, importunely crauing one thing or other. And again, those that bee honeste frendes, rather then carnall louers, to bee like vnto persones possessyng, and hauyng land of their owne, which thei continually studied & labored, to make better & better.

The difference betwene a carnall louer and an honest frend.

¶ A carnall louer seketh to satisfie, and to fulfil his beastly or bodily pleasure. A true and honeste frende, hauyng none iye nor respecte to his owne person, thinketh himself so moche the richer, how moche the more honest and vertuous, he maketh his frende to be.

80. Sitting at the table at meate, in Xenophon his hous, euery one of the geastes, being bidden to tell, in what occupacion & crafte, or in what good propertie or feacte that he could doe, he liked himself best, when the course and tourne to speake came vnto Socrates, he saied in the waie of iesting, the best thing that he could bragge or crake of, to be Lenocinium, whiche sowneth in Englishe, enticyng and alluryng, of soche sort as is vsed in houses of baudrie.

Lenocinium

Vertue principallie aboue al thinges, purchaseth to man beneuolence and loue.

¶ But the meanyng of *Socrates* was, that he taught true and sincere vertue, whiche doeth specially aboue al other thinges, commende and set out the hauer: and the whiche as wel priuately, as in open face of the world doth purchace vnto man beneuolence & loue.

81. A feloe hauyng sight in Phisiognomie (who professed and openly toke vpon him, by the complexion and pleight of the bodie, and by the proporcion and settyng, or compace of the face or visage, to be able vnfalliblie and without missing, to find out and iudge the naturall disposicion of any man) when he had well vewed Socrates, gaue plain sentence, that he was a loutish feloe, a dulle blockehed, besides that also, moche

The art & profession of Phisiognomiers.

Of what nature and disposicion *Socrates* had been, if he had not given hymself to the

studie of Philosophie.

moche geuen to the wanton loue of women, foule steined with the filthie concupiscence and desire of boies, a greate boller of wine, and a vicious foloer of all naughtie appetites, and lustes of the bodie. And when the frendes of Socrates, beeying brought in a highe fume, thretened the feloe, and would haue been vpon him, Socrates kept them backe, saiyng: He hath not lied one whit, I should haue been soche an one in all poinctes, in verie deede, if I had not committed my self vnto Philosophie to be gouerned, and kept in better staie.

Philosophie altereth, and clene chaungeth nature.

82. When Aristippus, the disciple of Socrates, had of his gaines, of setting vp the teaching Philosophie for money (which thing he first of al the scholars of Socrates, did set vp and begon to doe) had sent .20. poundes vnto his maister: Socrates sent the money backe again vnto hym forthwith, alleging that his familiar good Aungell, would in no wise suffer him, to take it.

Aristippus firste of all the scholars of *Socrates*, sette vp teaching of philosophie for money.

The familiare ghost or aungell of *Socrates*, called in Greke δαίμων in Latin *Genius*.

¶ For *Socrates* saied, that he had a familiare ghost or Aungell peculiare and proper to himself, of whom he was by a priuie token forbidden, if he attempted, or went about to dooe any vnhonest thyng. Verely, that familiare good Aungell, I suppose, was reason. And in the meane tyme, vnto *Aristippus* he did after a gentle sort, signifie hymself not to alowe, ne to thinke well doen, that he kept a schoole of morall Philosophie for money, and therefore thesame gifte of his as a thyng gotten by plaine sacrilege, he vtterly refused, and would none of it.

Socrates alowed not that any man should take money for teachyng vertue, & estemed money so gotten, to be sacrilege.

83. One Euthydemus returnyng and comming awaie from the wrastling place, Socrates, when he had mette with hym by chaunce, brought home to supper with him. And as thei twoo wer studiously disputing and treactyng of many thynges, Xantippe beyng therewith very angrie, arose

Euthydemus one of the familiare frendes of *Socrates* in *Athens* and a Philosophier.

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arose vp from the table, and spake many bitter wordes of contumely, and despite against her husband, with whiche wordes, forasmoche as he was nothing moued, at last she tiped the table ouer and ouer, and floung doune all that euer was vpon it. But when Euthydemus beyng therewithall verie sore moued, arose and begon to depart, Why, what harme haue ye (quoth Socrates?) Did not euen this self same thing, chaunce at your own hous the last daie, that a henne mounting, cast doune all thynges that wer on the table? Yet did we your geastes then, not one whitte fume at the matter.

The cancardnes of *Xantippe*.

The pacience of *Socrates*.

When in the comedie of Aristophanes entitled, the cloudes, he was with many & bitter wordes, of railling & defamacion, as ye would saie torn, and mangled in peces: and one of the companie standing by, said Doth not this go to your hart Socrates? By Iupiter saieth he again, it greueth my stomacke nothing at all, if I bee snapped at, and bitten with merie tauntes at the staige where enterludes are plaied, no more then if it wer at a great diner or banquet, where wer many geastes. 84.

Socrates sore railed at by name, in the comedie of *Aristophanes*, entiteled, the cloudes, or, mistes.

The pacience of *Socrates*.

¶ This custome & vsage euen yet still endureth emong certain of the Germaines, ☞ (yea, & in England also) that in feastes of greate resort, there is brought in for the nones some iesting feloe, that maie scoff and ieste vpon the geastes, as thei sitten at the table, with the which iesting to be stiered to angre, is accompted a thyng moche contrarie to all courtesie or good maner.

The custome of diuers places to haue iesters and scoffers at solemne feastes.

He vsed often to saie, that he, whiche moueth his bodie to and fro, with leapyng and dauncing, hath nede to haue an hous of large roume, but who so exerciseth hym self with singyng, or talkyng to thesame, either standing, or sitting, or leaning, 85.

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Moderate exercitacions of the bodie, allowed by *Socrates*, and the contrarie disallowed.

leaning, any place whatsoeuer it is, to be sufficient, and wide or lage enough.

¶ By this saiyng, he did allowe moderate exercitacions of the bodie, especially after meate taken: & exercises any thing buisie or full of stiering be disallowed.

86. Unto Socrates, somewhat sharpely and roughlye chydynge one of hys famylyare frendes, at the table, as they sate at meate Plato sayd: Had it not been better, to haue tolde him these thinges apart out of companie? To whom Socrates saied againe: And should not ye also haue dooen better, if ye had told me this apart out of company, betwene you and me.

Merely spoken and nippyngly withall.

In rebuking an nother, to commit the self same fault, that one rebuketh.

¶ He merily and sharpely withall taunted *Plato*, as the whiche in rebukyng hym, did commit the verie selfsame fault that he rebuked.

87. Socrates as he sate emong companie at a table, espiyng a young man somewhat greadily eatyng the fleshe, and euer emong deping or sopping his bread in the pottage or brothe: Maisters, all that sitte at this table (quoth Socrates) whiche of you vseth his bread in steade of his meate, and meate in stede of his bread? A disputacion hereupon arisyng emong the companie: ☞ (For, it is not I quoth one, and it is not I quoth an other) the yong man perceiued the matter, & blushed as rede as fire, and begon more leasurely and moderately, to feede and eate of the meate.

Immoderate and gredie eatyng, rebuked by *Socrates*.

88. Beeyng asked, whiche was the chief vertue of young menne: That thei doe not (saith he) ouer feruently or angrely attempt assaie, or enterprise any thing.

The chief vertue of yong men not to eagrelie to attempt any thyng.

¶ For, the feruentnesse of that age ☞ being as hote as coales, will not suffre theim to kepe a meane. * To this thyng had *Terence* an iye and respecte in the yong manne *Pamphilus*.

* *Terence* a Latin Poete, a writer

writer of comedies, & in the firste comedie, entitled *Andria* Simo hauyng espied, that his sonne *Pamphilus*, had fallen in loue with a single woman, named *Glicerie*, talketh of the matter, with his late seruaunt Sofia, and in processe of communicacion, where Simo would haue Pamphilus, not to ferre to procede in wanton loue of paramours, no by saincte Marie, saieth Sofia, for this I thinke in the life of manne, to bee as good a thing as can be, that he attempt not, ne enterprise any thyng ouermoche.

89. Letters or writyng (whiche the moste part of folkes, supposeth to haue been first deuised and found out, for helping the memorie) Socrates saied to bee verie hurtfull to the memorie.

Whether letters or writyng doe helpe the memory, or els rather hurte the same.

¶ For in old time, menne (if thei had heard any thing, worthie to be knowen) thei wrote and graued thesame, not in bokes, but in the harte and minde. And the memorie by this confirmed and made stedfast, thei kept in their remembraunce, whatsoeuer thei were willyng, and what euery man perfectly knew, he had alwaies redie with hym at his fingers endes. Afterward the vse of writyng beyng ones founde out, while men put all their affiaunce & trust in bookes, thei were nothyng like earneste, to imprinte in their mind, soche thinges as thei had learned. By that meanes it came to passe, that thexercise of memorie neglected, and nothyng passed on, the knowlege of thinges was nothyng so quicke, nor freshe as it had been, and eche man knewe still lesse and lesse. For so moche and no more, dooeth euery of vs knowe, as we haue faste imprinted, and dooe kepe in our memorie.

The exercise of the memorie.

After the feacte of writing ons found out men trusted more to their bokes, than to their memories.

So moche & no more doth euery of vs knowe as we haue suerly imprinted in our memorie.

90. When the time of his diyng drewe fast vpon hym, beyng asked of Crito, how his minde was to be buried: O my frendes (quoth he) a greate deale of labour haue I spent in vain. For vnto Crito your frend & mine, I haue not yet perswaded, that I shall more swiftly then any birde, flie from hens, and not leaue behynd me here, any part or porcion of me. Yet neuerthelesse Crito, if thou shalte bee hable to ouertake me, or if thou shalt in any place come by me, or gette me, burie me, euen how so euer to thee shall seme best:

The soule passeth out of this worlde, more swiftly then any birde flieth.

The solle is the man, & the body the taber-

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nacle of the solle.

best: but beleue me, not one of you al shall ouertake me, when I shalbe departed from hens.

To take care how to be buried is folishnes.

¶ *Socrates* meaned the soule to be the man, and the bodie to be nothyng els, but the instrument or tabernacle of the soule; and therefore those persones to doe like fooles, that take care or thought how to be buried.

91. Thesame Socrates was wont to saie, that death is like to sounde slepyng. (And of this, we call in Englishe a sounde slepe, a ded slepe) or els to a long pilgrimage, that is to saie, longe beyng in a straunge countree, from whens at length to retourne home again.

Death is like vnto sound slepyng: or to being in a straunge countree.

That the soule shall at lengthe returne againe into the bodie, not only shalbe at the generalle resurreccion, according to our belefe, but also was the opinion of *Socrates*, of *Plato*, and of their disciples, albeit after an other sorte.

¶ Verie sounde slepyng, taketh awaie for the time, all operacion of the bodily senses, & the soule beeyng departed awaie from the bodie, shall at length retourne againe into his tabernacle, that is to saie into thesame bodie.

92. Thesame vsed also many times to saie, that if the vniuersall calamitees of all men, should be gathered all in an heap together and immediately to eche man seuerallie by himself, should bee distributed eguall porcions out of the same heape, it would come to passe, that eche man would rather chose to receiue his owne former calamitees againe, then eguall porcion with his feloes out of the common heape.

If the vniuersall calamitees of all men, wer in an heape egually to be distributed, eche man would rather take his owne again, than eguall porcion with all his feloes.

¶ This maketh against the common maners & guise of men, who grutche and repine, at the state and condicion of others, and whine continually at their owne.

93. He learned to plaie on the Harpe, after that he was well striken in age, and that, emong children. And vnto soche persones as meruailled at thesame, as a thing verie vnconuenient and foolishe, he saied, that it was no shame nor foolishe

It is no shame for a manne to learne that he knoweth not,

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ishe thing, for a man to learne those thinges, of whiche he were ignoraunt. of what age soeuer he bee.

¶ For, it is turned to no mannes rebuke, to procure and gette soche thinges, as he hath nede of, if thei be wanting, neither in this behalf is to be regarded a mans age, but his nede. 94. To haue made a good beginning, is no smal porcion of the werke doen.

He saied, that to make a good beginning is not a little, but next cousin to a little, or els thus, to make a good beginning, is not a little, but a little more.

¶ The Greke wordes ren thus, *εὖ ἄρχεσθαι μικρὸν μὴ εἶναι παραμικρὸν δέ*, whiche he that translated *Laertius* out of Greke into Latine, hath interpreted in this sense: That to make a good beginning is not a small matter, but a verie great thing. Albeit the woordes of *Socrates* doe expresse an other sense, in maner contrary. But he meaneth (if I be not deceiued) that, to make a good beginning, is not a little matter in verie deede, but to be little estemed, or els to make a good beginnyng not to bee a little, but to be nexte doore by a little, or nexte cousin to a little. For, men ought to begin thynges faire and softely, and to procede by little and little, because that soche persones, as do make moste hast in the beginning, haue commonly (accordyng to our Englishe Prouerbe) worst spede toward the endyng. So that he alludeth vnto the Poete *Hesiodus*, who biddeth, that wee shall adde a little to a little. The quickenes & pithe of the saiyng resteth in the Greke vocable *μικρὸν* and *παραμικρὸν*,* and the same cannot well be expressed in Latine. The more hast the wurst spede

* No nor yet in Englishe neither. Albeit I thinke the saiyng of *Socrates*, to haue this sense and meaning, that to haue made a good beginnyng or entreaunce, is not a little, but a little more, or a degree ferther then a little. That is to saie: as good a forthdeale, & auauntage towards theende of the werke, as if a good porcion of thesame wer alredie finished. For, according to our Englishe Prouerbe, a thing well begon, is more then halfe doen. For, who so hath ones made a good beginning of his werke, shall easily bring thesame to soche ende, and to soche passe and effect as he would doe. As for alludyng vnto *Hesiodus* (as *Erasmus* here taketh it.) I suppose *Socrates* meaned nothing so, at lest wise, in this present saiyng. For, in *Hesiodus* is no soche worde as *παραμικρὸν*. Whiche *Erasmus* interpreteth,

interpreteth, *Iuxta pusillum*, besides a little, and παραμικρὸν, is an aduerbe, signifiyng, *Fere poene*, that is in Englishe : almoste, or welnigh, so that the saiyng of *Socrates* maie purporte this sense, and bee thus interpreted, to bee ones entred is not a little begon, but the whole matter welnigh doen.

95. ἔφασκε δεῖν γεωμετρεῖν, μέχρι ἄν τις μέτρῳ δύνηται γῆν παραλαβεῖν τε καὶ παραδοῦναι.

What Geometrie *Socrates* would to be studied & labored.

Ouer great possessions ar incommodious bothe to the owner, & to his heire.

It was also a lesson of his teaching, that Geometrie ought to be studied, vntil a bodie bee sufficiently able, bothe to receiue or take, and also to giue out, or deliuer ground by measure.

¶ I suppose he meaned, that men ought not to purchace, but landes and possessions moderate, whiche it might well stande with a bodies ease and commoditee, bothe to receiue of his auncestours, and also to leaue to his heires. For ouer great possessions of landes, as thei be not purchaced ne gotten, without moche a do, so thei come to the heires handes not peaceably, nor without great trauerse. The quickenes & pithe of the saiyng, consisteth in the Greke worde γεωμετρεῖν whiche in significacion, is indifferent to the arte of Geometrie, and to meters of landes, or ground in a feld. ☞ Yea, & also in the Greke worde μετρῳ that is, by measure. For, he would mennes purchases not to extende beyonde the compasse of sufficiencie, but to consist within the boundes of Mediocritee, whereby he reproued the vnsaciable desire of men, to haue possessions infinite. Albeit, this saiyng can not well be expressed, to haue any grace in the Englishe toungue.

Purchace of landes ought to be moderate.

96. In Athenes the commonweale was gouerned by the commons, till that in *Socrates* time, 30 tirannes vsurped & toke vpon them the regiment, which tirannes were afterwarde destroied by the policie of one *Thrasibulus*.

To a certain persone taking greuously, that he was cleane out of regard and estimacion, at what tyme the thirtie tyrannes had inuaded and vsurped the gouernaunce of the common weale : Why, hast thou doen any thing (quoth Socrates) that greueth thy conscience, or repenteth thee ?

¶ Meanyng that it is not to be taken in the euill parte, if a man be despised or made an abiect, by vnhonest & naughtie disposed feloes : and that no persone ought, for any soche cause to mislike hymself : but if he haue doen some fault, trespace, or offence, wherefore he should iustlie encurre, the displeasure & indignacion,

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nacion, bothe of hymself and of other honest menne. For, to be misliked of euill persones, is a poincte of high praise and commendacion.

Of the nomber of those tyrauntes were Critias and Charicles, of whom is made mencion afore in the .20. saiyng of *Socrates*.

When him semed that one saied vnto hym in his slepe, this verse of the Greke Poete Homerus. 97.

ἤματι μεν τριτάτῳ φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἱκοιο.
On the third daie, nexte after this,
Come to Phthia, and doe not misse.

Socrates knewe and saied, that he should die, 3 daies before by a vision and voice that he had in his slepe.

he said vnto Aeschines, This daie thre daies shall I bee a dedde man.

¶ Interpretyng & expouning the verse of *Homerus*, for an aunswere or declaracion of Gods will and pleasure, and the thing came euen so to passe. *Phthia* ‡ was a citee in the region of *Thessalia*, the countree of * *Achilles*. And the frendes of *Socrates* did what thei could to perswade vnto hym, that he should flee into *Thessalia*, because he had there many good frendes.

‡*Phthia* a citee in the countree of *Thessalia* the region of Achilles.

*Achilles was the sonne of Peleus kyng of *Thessalia*, and of *Thetis* doughter of *Chiron* the moste puissaunt and valiaunt warrier, that was emong all the kynges of the Grekes at the battaill of Troie.

It was also one of his saiynges, That menne wer bounden, to be obedient to the lawes of the citee or countree: and wiues to the maners and facions of their housbandes, that thei liue in companie withal. 98.

The rewle to liue by for the wife, is her husbande, if he be obedient to the lawes publike.

¶ Thei rule to liue by, and to be ordered by for the wife, is the housebande, whiche wife liueth well and vprightly, if her housebande bee obedient, to the lawes publique of the realme.

He gaue warnyng, that naughtie pleasures of the bodie, ought none other wise then the Mermaides of the sea called Sirenes, to bee passed by, and eschewed of any persone, that maketh haste in his waie toward vertue, as though after a long iourney, had gotten at last a sight of his countree. 99.

He that hasteth toward vertue, must auoide the naughtie pleasures of the bodie, as he wold the monsters of the sea.

¶ He alluded vnto the fable of *Vlysses*, who stopped his eares with waxe, and by that meanes in saillyng, passed

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passed awaie by the monstres of the sea, called *Sirenes* (in Englishe Marmaides) when he had after his returne from Troie, ones espied the smoke of his countree *Itacha*, mountyng into the aire out of the chimneies.

The poetes fables saien the *Sirenes*, were these thre, *Parthenope*, *Lygia*, & *Leucosia*. doughters of the flood *Achelous*, and of *Calliope*, one of the nine Muses, and that thei had their abidyng in a certain Isle, betwene Italie and Sicilie, and by the swetenes of their syngyng, thei allured passengers on the sea, and when thei had theim, slue them. Wherefore *Vlysses* returnyng from Troie, to *Ithaca* his countree, stopped the eares of all his companie with waxe, and caused hymself to be fast bound to the mast of the ship, and so escaped from the *Sirenes*, as *Homerus* writeth. And the *Sirenes* for anger and sorowe, that thei wer so despised, tumbled hedlong into the sea, and doe still remaine there.

100. *Socrates* of an humblenesse of minde, would not knowlege the laudes and praises that *Plato* attributed vnto hym.

When he heard the dialogue of Plato, entitled Lysides, readen, Oh lorde in heauen (saieth he) how many lies the young man forgeth on me.

¶ Either for that of his humilitie and lowlines, he would not knowlege the laudes and praises, which *Plato* did attribute vnto hym, or els because he feigned many thynges on *Socrates* in that dialogue.

101. παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δανείζεσθαι How an euill housband maie borowe money of hymself, to get aforehand. *Magnum vectigal parsimonia* Good househandrie is a greate yerelie reuenue to an householder.

Unto Aeschines, who was sore oppressed with pouertee, he vsed to giue warning and auise, that he thesaid Aeschines should borowe or take vsurie of his own self, and moreouer shewed the waies how, that was, by abatyng of his sumptuous fare at his table.

¶ Accordyng to the prouerbe: good husbandrie, and sparyng in an hous, is a great penie rent of yerely reuenues. The moste readie waie to encrease a mannes richesse, is to abate of his charges. ☞ And (as our Englishe Prouerbe saieth) Hous kepyng is a priuie theef.

102. *Archelaus* the son of *Perdicca*

Beyng asked concerning Archelaus the sonne of Perdicca, who at that season was estemed a verie valiaunt and hardie man, whether he iudged hym to bee in perfecte blisse, or not: I can not tell (saieth he) I neuer had communicacion with him. And to the other partie then saiyng, After that sort or maner, Ye maie aswel doubt of the king of the Persians, whether he be in the state of

The state of blissefulnes of a man, consisteth in the vertues of the minde and not

of perfecte felicitee, or not: Yea, what els (quoth Socrates) forasmoche as I knowe not how well learned he is, or how good and how honest he is. In worldlie thynges.

¶ *Socrates* measured the blissefulnes of a man, by the verie true good qualitees and vertues of the minde. This doeth *Cicero* reporte and cite in the .5. booke of the *Tusculane* questions, out of the dialogue of *Plato*, entitled *Gorgias*.

¶ *The saiynges of*

ARISTIPPUS.

NExt after the maister, I thinke most congruente to set his owne scholare, that was bothe in age and time first, and in aucthoritie chief of all the others, that is *Aristippus*: then whom emong al the Philosophiers, ther hath not been any one, either of a more apt or readie & prompt wit, in conueighaunce or casting of thynges, & more agreable to all maner states, sortes, or facions of liuing, or els in his saiyinges more merie conceipted, within the bondes of honestee, or more pleasaunt. Albeeit he semeth not to haue shewed that holinesse of manera, and behauour in liuyng, whiche all men doe honour and highly esteme in *Socrates*.

Aristippus a philosophier of an excellent wit, & of singular dexteritee: the first and chief of all the disciples of *Socrates*. Who taught Philosophie for money, as is aforsaid. The disciples & foloers of *Aristippus* wer called after his time, *Cyrenaici* because he came to Athenes out of that countree.

Betwene Aristippus and Diogenes the Cynike, there was moche good Cocking, and striuing, whether of them should win the spurres, and beare the bell, because thei wer of twoo sondry, and in maner contrary sectes, trades, or professions of liuyng. Diogenes called Aristippus the kynges hound because he was a daiely waiter, and gaue continually attendaunce in the Courte of Dionysius

1. Betwene *Aristippus* & *Diogenes* was moche good cockyng and emulacion.

Aristippus one of the Courte with *Dionysius*

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the Tyranne of Sicilie.

Dionysius the tyranne of Sicilie. Against whom Aristippus on the other side vsed to saie: If Diogenes could behaue hymself, to be familiare with kinges, and daily about theim, he should not neede to eate rawe or grene herbes. Then Diogenes again countreyng, saied: If Aristippus had learned to bee contented with rawe herbes, he should not nede to be the kinges hounde.

The countring of *Aristippus* and *Diogenes*.

2. When he had on a tyme, commaunded a Pertrige to be bought, whiche he might not gette, vnder the price of .50. drachmes, that is .16s. 8d. sterling, or there aboute, vnto a certain person detesting and criyng abominacion on soche riotous superfluitee or prodigall excesse in a Philosophier: Why euen thou thy self (quoth Aristippus) if the price of a Pertrige were an halfpenie, wouldest not thou buye of theim? When he had answered, Yes: And euen as moche & no more doe I set by a merke and fowertie pens (saied Aristippus) as thou doest by thy halfpenie.

A drachme was about the valueof a grote sterlyng, or somewhat more.

Aristippus despised gold and siluer.

¶ Thesame thing that the other iudged to bee an abominable poinct of riot, excesse, and prodigalitee: the Philosophier tourned an other waie, to the laude & praise of despisyng money. For, who so is by reason of the costlinesse or high price, feared and driuen awaie from buiyng, thesame doth not sette little by the meate, but setteth moche by the money. But to the estimacion of the Philosophier, no whitte more in valour wer .50. drachmes, then to the other feloe an halfpenie. Then *Aristippus* beyng in the desirefulnesse of that cates, nothyng worse then the other felowe, in the contempte of money, was ferre better.

Who so is driuen from buying, by reason of the high price, setteth not little by the thing but setteth moche by the money.

A right Philosophier despiseth money.

3. When Dionysius had brought forthe before hym, three beautifull young damiselles, of light conuersacion, biddyng hym to chose one, whiche soeuer he would of the 3: Aristippus laied hande on

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on theim all, and tooke theim to hym, saiyng: That Paris of Troie had founde it a thing, not a little to his pein, that of three ladies, he gaue preeminence to one, before the other twaine.

When *Eris*, the Goddesse of strife and contencion, had trilled a longe the table (wher all the goddesses were at a banquet assembled) a golden aple with this poise written or engrauen about it. *Bee this giuen to the fairest.* *Iuno*, *Pallas*, and *Venus*, all three claimed to haue the saied aple. After moche striuyng in presence and compaignie of all the Goddes. In fine, *Iupiter* sent *Mercurius* with the same three goddesses and the aple, vnto *Paris* the sonne of *Priamus*, then kynge of Troie, who adiudged the aple vnto *Venus*, whiche *Venus* promised hym in rewarde, that he should haue the fairest ladie, that was on the yearth, of all mortall creatures, and that was *Helena*, the wife of *Menelaus*, then kyng of Lacedeamon, whom thesaied *Paris* stole from her housebande, and conueighed to Troie. And for her begon the battaill of Troie, whereof ensued not onely the vtter destruccion, exterminacion, and death of hym, and of all his blood, but also the subuersion and desolacion of the noble citee of Troie, whiche the Grekes burned, not leuyng so moche as one hous standyng.

¶ And so he brought theim all three vnto the courte gates, and there tooke his leaue of theim, and suffred them to depart, no lesse gentle, quicke and readie in abandonyng, then he had been afore embracyng.

Strato, or after other writers, Plato, said to Aristippus: Vnto thee onely is this gifte giuen, to weare bothe the shorte or cutted cape, of a galaunte and ruffleyng courtier (whiche was called Chlamys) and also the side robe or cope of homely & course clothe, soche as the beggerie Philosophiers, and none els vsen to weare. 4. To Aristippus onely was geuen this gift to bee bothe a galaunte courtier, and also a sage Philosophier.

¶ Thesame thyng did the Poete *Horacius* note, when he saied.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color.

All colours, and facions of araie
Became onely Aristippus, alwaie.

In the Courte of *Dionysius*, he would daunce in purple and crimasin silkes or veluettes, and somtymes he would weare a course pilche, mantle, or cope doune to the foote, but yet euermore hauyng in mynde, what, when, and how, beste became hym, and to doe neither of these thinges other wise then might stand with honestee, comelinesse, and good facion. Aristippus euermore considered and remembred honestee and comelinesse.

Beyng all beraied in the face, with the spetting of 5. Dionysius

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Aristippus tolte paciently to be spitten vpon, so that he might win *Dionysius* to the studie of Philosophie.

Dionysius, he tooke it verie paciently, and to them that fumed at the spitefull touche, thus he saied. The fisher men, to take a little Gougeon, doe abide to bee all embrued with the foule salte water of the Sea: and should not I, to take a greate Whale be contented, to be sprincled with a little spettle of ones mouth?

¶ By the name of a Whale, notyng the kyng, whom he did all that in hym laie, with his pacience to allure vnto the studie of Philosophie. And in deede no small vtilitee and benefite it is, that groweth to common weales, by the sapience and high knowlege of learned Princes.

No small vtilitee groweth to common weales by the sapience of lerned princes.

6. Beyng asked what fruicte he had receiued, of the studie of Philosophie: Marie (quoth he) that I can to all persones whatsouer thei bee talke boldely, franklie, and plainly as lieth in my mynd.

The fruicte of Philosophie is that a man shal speake plainlie as lieth in his harte.

¶ For, neither did he fear men of power and auctoritee, nor disdein inferiour persons of lowe degree forasmoche as he had a minde free, and clere voide, aswell from hope, as from feare, he was no mannes dogbolte, ne in any mannes bondage, nor helde vp the yea and naie of any persone, contrary to that he thought in his owne harte.

Aristippus feared no man, nor disdeined any persone.

7. When certain persones did by the waie of reproche, caste in his teeth, that he liued gentlemanlike, and passyng deintily, beyng one that professed Philosophie: If that wer a vice (saieth he) it should in nowise be doen, in the solemne feastes of the goddes.

Aristippus loued gaie apparell and good fare. Whether in gaie clothing & in deintee fare be any vice.

¶ For in thesame solemnitees, men vsen of a custome, bothe to be gaily and trimmely apparelled, and also to haue the moste deintee fare, that can bee gotten or dressed. And forasmoche as the Goddes, been earneste enemies to all vices, thei wuld not be appeaced, but rather stired to wrath and angre, by soche maner roialtee,

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roialtee, if thesame conteined any spice of sinne or viciousnesse. Thus indeede he auoided & clene defeacted the contumelious checke, but he did not shewe what was best.

Unto Dionysius demaunding of him, what high thing was in the Philosophers, more then in other men, he said: That if all lawes wer anulled & fordoen, yet would we liue still, after one maner rate. 8. Philosohiers would liue wel, though there wer no lawes.

¶ The moste parte of people, is barred from offendyng, onelie by prescripcions of lawes, but a Philosophier accompteth and vseth reason in stede of lawes: not dooyng that is vpright and honeste, because the Lawe hath so commaunded, nor refreinyng fro deedes of mischief, because the lawe hath forbidden thesame: but for that he knoweth the one, to be of it self vpright and honest, and the other of it self, to be abhominable. To a Philosophier, reason is a lawe.

Aristippus and Plato bothe of them were awaiters in the court with Dionisius. But Aristippus absteined not from the pleasures of the courte, when thei came in his waie. Plato euen in the middes of all superfluitees, and excesse of the courte, endeuoured to kepe a sobre trade in all behalfes. Therfore, when Plato checked and rebuked Aristippus, for that he was so swete mouthed and drouned in the voluptuousnes of high fare, he asked of Plato, what he thought of Dionysius, whether he semed to bee an honest man, or not. • When he had answered, that he semed to be honest: & yet he (quoth Aristippus) liueth moche more delicately then I dooe. 9. *Plato* and *Aristippus* both wer in courte with *Dionysius*. There is nothing to the contrarie, but that a man may liue taking parte of good fare, and yet liue verteouslie.

¶ Therefore nothyng letteth, but that a man bothe maie liue, takyng his part of good fare, and also liue well and vertuously.

Unto Dionysius demaundyng how it chaunced, that the Philosophiers did frette and weare the 10. Why Philoso-

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phiers haunt riche mennes houses and not contrariwise.

thresholdes of riche mennes houses, and not contrariwise, he saied: Because the Philosophiers doe knowe what thei wante, and the riche men knowe not.

Without monie there is no liuing.

¶ The Philosophiers do know, that without money, there is no liuyng, & therefore thei drawe to soche persones, as been able to giue them that thei haue nede of. That if the riche men, did like well vnderstande and perceiue, that thei lacke and nede wisedome, thei would moche more haunt and trede the doores of the Philosophiers houses. For, more miserable is the pouertee of the minde & soule, then of the bodie. And so moche the more pieteously beggered, and with extremitee of nede oppressed are the riche men: that thei doe not vnderstande, of how precious and how necessarie a thyng thei be destitute.

More miserable is the pouertee of the minde, then of the bodie.

11. What difference there is betwen the learned & the vnlearned.

Being asked in what point the learned diffred from the vnlearned: In thesame point (saith he) that horses well broken, doe differ from the vnbroken.

As an vnbroken horse is vnapte to doe any seruice, so thei that bee led by affeccions, are vnmeete for all compaignies & sortes of liuyng

¶ As an horse not yet broken, is by reason of ignoraunce what he should doe, and of skittishenesse, nothing apt, but all vntoward for any vse or seruice to be put vnto: so he that is forceably rewled, or violently led with affeccions, that is to saie: with the corrupte mocions and sodaine pangues or passions of the mynde (whiche pangues and affeccions or passions, nothyng but onely Philosophie, maistreth and subdueth) is vnapt and vnmete for all compaignies and facions, or sortes of liuyng.

12. When he resorted on a tyme, to a paramours hous of his, he perceiued one of the young menne that were there presente, to blushe as read as fire, as though it was a foule shame for a Philosophier, to sette his foote in to any hous, where bauderie were kept: to hym Aristippus turned, and saied:

Young

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Young man, to entre into soche a place as this, is no shame at al, but not to be able to go out again in deede that is a foule shame.

¶ He meaned that it is but a veniall and a pardonable matter, if a man dooe moderately vse the companie of women, not offendyng the lawe. But to be a thing worthie no perdone or forgiuenesse, if one be as a bondseruaunt, vnder the continual yoke of filthie pleasures of the body. This saiyng might in that worlde be well taken, when no temporall lawe, nor ciuile ordinaunce did forbid men to companie with harlottes: but now beside the wittines of makyng a readie excuse of his sinne, there is in it nothyng worthie laude or praise. ☞ And it was the saiyng of a corrupt Gentile, to whom the lawe of God was no parte of his profession, and not of a christian manne.

That excuse of sinne, that may seeme to serue a Gentile, maie not serue a Christian man.

To a certain person that had propouned an harde reedle, and was verie earneste to haue hym soile thesame, he said: What thou foolishe felowe, wouldest thou haue me to looce that thyng, whiche euen beyng faste bounden, setteth vs all werke enough to do?

13.

Merely spoken.

¶ He found a mery toie in the ambiguite, of the worde loocyng, for the Greke worde, λύειν and Latine woorde *soluere* (whiche souneth in Englishe to looce, or to vnbinde) is indifferent to soilyng a doubtefull question, and to loocyng a man or a beaste, that is faste bounden. And in deede it wer a foolishe pranke, to vnbind & looce a madde manne, or a perillous beast, whiche beyng looced would doe the more scathe and mischief.

It was a saiyng of his that moche better it is to be a begger, then to be a man without learning, for that the one wanteth onely money, and the other lacketh al pointes to a man belongyng.

14.

Better it is to bee a begger then a manne without learnyng.

¶ He is neuerthelesse a man that hath no money, but

Soche persons as lacke wisedome will not seeke it.

but he is no man, that hath no maner knowlege nor learnyng. And yet he that wanteth money, beggeth of soche persones, as he meteth withall, but he that lacketh wisedome, is nothyng buisie in askyng any man to haue it on hym.

15. *Aristippus* beeyng railled at went his waie and gaue not a worde again to aunswere.

When he had many despiteous woordes giuen him of a certaine feloe, he wente his waies, and answered not so moche as one worde: but when the railler, the faster that he wente awaie, came still the faster after him, saiyng: Why rennest thou awaie? Mary (saith he) bicause thou hast power to speak railyng woordes, and I to choose whether I will heare them or not.

To giue place to a railler.

¶ He did with a verie curste taunt, checke and rebuke the shameles facion of the felowe, whiche whereas hymself tooke vpon hym free libertie and aucthoritie, to speake all that euer naught was, would not graunt to an other at lestwise so moche libertie, as to conueigh hymself out of presence, & to leaue hearyng eiuill. For this voice, Why rennest thou awaie? was, as it had been of a manne, laiyng to ones charge, and makyng a querele for some iniurie or shrewed tourne doen vnto hym.

16. Philosophiers haunten the houses of the riche men, as Phisicians doen the houses of sicke folkes.

A certaine persone of rancour, malice, and greate hatered speaking against Philosophiers, the worst wordes that he had in his bealie, emong other thinges saied also, that he might espie and se theim euermore awaityng, & as it wer laiyng siege at riche mennes gates. To whom Aristippus said: And the Phisicians to be continuall resorters to the houses of sicke folkes, and yet is there no man that would rather choose to bee the sickeman, then to be the Phisician.

Sapience is defined to bee the knowledge of thinges perteining to God

¶ He did finely and subtilly tourne the checke to a contrary purpose. The Philosophiers make moche preachyng of felicitee and perfecte blisse, whiche thei doe wholly reserue and aduouche to belong to a man

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man of a perfecte sapience onely, and to none other, and yet thei be daily and howerly conuersaunt in riche mennes houses, prollyng for somewhat at their handes, whereby the feloe gathered, that the riche men are in a more blissefull state, then the Philosophiers. But *Aristippus* interpreted and declared the Philosophiers chiefly for this entent and purpose, to be continual resorters vnto richemen, because thesame beyng thorowe superfluitie or excesse, and through delicious pleasures more foolishe, and more corrupte then any other liuyng creatures, had more nede of the preceptes and holsome lessons of sapience, then any other persones. And a Philosopher is the Phisician of mindes and soules diseased. And to conclude more nere the state of blisse, it is to be the Phisician, then to be the sicke man : ergo, &c.

& man, or of thinges diuine and worldly, which thei that had gotten wer called *Sapientes*, that is men of perfecte knowlege, vertue & honestie. For of right knowlege consequentlie ensueth honestee of life. Riche men are through excesse and delicious pleasures, more foolishe & more corrupte then any others

A philosopher is the Phisician of mindes diseased.

17. *Aristippus* being in ieoperdie of death feared & weaxed pale.

On a time when he was in a Ship, sailyng towardes the citee of Corinthus, and a tempest beyng sodainly arisen, made them euery minute of an hower, to looke when the Ship should sinke and be drouned, Aristippus weaxed wanne of colour, and pale as ashes for feare. One of the passingers, a grosse carle, and soldiarlike feloe, and one that loued no Philosophiers, espiyng and markyng thesame, as sone as the tempeste was laied again, begun proudely to cocke and crowe, saiyng: Why do ye Philosophiers, whiche are euer preachyng & teaching that death is not to be feared, yet neuerthelesse loke with pale faces, by reason of fear in tyme of perill and ieoperdie, and we beyng men vnlearned, are in no feare at all? Aristippus answered: Mary bicause thou & I doe carke & feare, for a soule or life of vneguall valour.

A great difference betwene the sol of a Philosophier, and of a verlette.

¶ *Aulus Gellius* addeth this to it, I feare perishyng of the life of *Aristippus*, and thou fearest not lesyng the life

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life of a knaue: which wordes yet for al that, be more full of galle, then to be conuenient for *Aristippus*, whose vrbanitie and merie conceipted wordes, are not of so poynaunte a sorte. We feare not the harme takyng of thynges of verie small valour, whereof cometh the Latin Prouerbe, *Hydria in Foribus.* * A stene or a canne in the doore. For this respect *Aristippus* found a mery toie, that the other feloe chaunged not colour: not for that he was of a better stomacke and courage or of more hardinesse in time of perill, but because forasmoche as he was a feloe of no price, but a villaine and a rascall, and had a minde or soule, clere void of all vertue, it should haue been a small losse or none at all, if he had turned vp his heeles and perished. A man of profounde learnyng, and highly endued with sapience, perisheth not, but to the sore losse and dammage of the common weale.

We feare not harme taking of thinges of small valour.

* *Hydria in foribus*, A stene or a can in the doore, is a prouerbe, by whiche *Aristoteles* and other aunciente writers, vsed to signifie a thyng so vile and of so smal

valour that no manne would attempt to purloine or steale, or if any did, there wer no greate losse in it, forasmoche as an other of like sort, might be euery where gotten for an half penie or lesse monie. And because it was a thing of so small price, if an yearthen pot stoode in a bodies doore, no thefe or false knaue, would stoope to take it vp, nor set his minde to conueigh it awaie. But ouches and pearles with other like thinges dooen soche feloes studie how to come by. As for a pitchaer euery bodie maie without any feare of stealing, sette (if him please) in the open strete. So writeth *Plutarchus*, that the Briers, whiche by them selfes will catche & take holde on eche bodies goune euery man neglecteth and passeth by, but Vines and Oliues, no man but desireth & will seke for, *Seneca* also in his Epistles, writeth in this maner. Many persones dooe passe by thinges that lien open, but for thinges liyng hidden in secrete corners, thei will make narrow serch. Thinges curiouslie and surely sealed, or faste locked vp, doe saie to a thefe, come steale me. It semeth not worthie taking vp from the ground whatsoeuer lieth abrode. And thinges liyng open, a breaker of houses will not soile his handes withall: but to breake into secrete corners, is sette all his minde and desire.

18. To a certain persone making his vaunt, that he had very good sight in sondrie facultees or disciplines (as though he had learned, all that might bee learned) Aristippus said: Like as, not those persones that eaten moste meate, and dooe by good digestion voide thesame again, be in better health of bodie, then soche as take that is sufficient and no more: euen so, not thei that haue had most varietee of reading, but soche as haue

Variette of lerning and reading, diuerse

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haue read thinges profitable, are to be accompted good studentes, and men of learnyng.

bookes maketh not a learned manne.

¶ He gaue a vengeable checke to those persones, who with trobleous or inordinate, and vnmeasurable reading, porre their throtes and bealies thrastyng full, and doe not conueigh vnto the botome of the minde or harte, soche thynges as thei read to liue therafter, but doe onely laie it vp and couche it in the memorie, by reason whereof in the ende, thei bee neither any thyng encreased, or ferthered in cunnyng, nor yet any thing emended, or bettered in their liuyng.

19.

A certain orator had in a court of iustice, made a plea in the defence of Aristippus, beyng there personally arained, and preuailled in the matter of trauerse. And when thesame oratour, as auauncyng his art of Rhetorike aboue Philosophie, saied What good hath Socrates doen thee O Aristippus? This profite haue I gotten by Socrates (saied he again) that the Oracion, whiche thou hast made in my defense and commendacion, hath been true.

Philosophie is of more excellente dignitee then rhetorike.

¶ The oratour had defended hym, as beyng a right honest man, and innocent in the matter that was laid to his charge. And, that euer he was a man of soche sort, as he was by the oratour reported for, had been the act of onely *Socrates*, whose scholare he was in Philosophie. It is no part of an orators plaie, to make that a man be of perfect honestie and vertue, but that he maie appere to the iudges to bee soche an one, although in verie deede he be not so. Then a thing of moche more excellencie it is, that the philosophier doeth performe, then that the orator can do.

20.

His doughter, beeyng named Areta, he brought vp and enstructed with holsome doctrine, and preceptes of vertue, accustoming her in al cases, to refuse and renounce whatsoeuer passed the boundes of mediocritee.

Areta the doughter of *Aristippus*.

Measure is in all thinges a treasure.

Because

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The chief vertue in a woman.

¶ Because in euery thing measure is chief and principall, & in a woman it is a point of most high vertue, to rewle the sensuall lustes & appetites.

21. To a certaine persone demaundyng in what behalf his sonne should at length bee the better, if he should bestowe the labour and coste, to set him to schoole: Though nothing els (saied he) yet at leste wise at Maie games and open sightes, there shall not one stone set his taile vpon an other.

What auauntage children getten by goyng to schole.

The facion of stage plaies in old tyme.

¶ In old time the places, where open sightes and shewes of games were exhibited, were made circlewise round about with settles or benches of Marble, staier wise one aboue an other on which the people sat and beheld the games and sightes. And a stone, thei commonly called ☞ (Euen as we also do) a feloe that had neither learnyng, nor good vtteraunce of tongue.

A persone void of learning and sufficient vtteraunce, diffreth nothing from a stone.

22. A certain man was in hande with Aristippus, to take his sonne to schoole to hym, but when the Philosophier required in reward for his peines of teaching, 500. drachmes (☞ whiche was about the sume of eight pounds sterling.) The other partie being clene discouraged, with the greatnesse of the price, saied: For lesse money, or better cheap then so, might I buie a bondman, that should doe me tall and hable seruice: But here now (quoth Aristippus) thou shalt haue twain.

The peines of teachyng, is worthie greate wages.

¶ His mening was, that with thesame summe of money, which was to be paied for one bondman, he should purchase bothe a Philosophier, that should stand him in good steed, and also a sonne obedient to his father. He did feactly checke the iudgemente of the common people, who in no behalf are greater haines and niggardes of their purse, then in prouidyng to haue their children, well and vertuously brought vp in learnyng and maners, and doe bestowe more cost on kepyng or

Moste parte of men giue more wages to their horse kepers, then to the good bringers vp of their children in

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or dressyng their horses, then on the good guidyng and orderyng of their sonnes and doughters.

learnyng and vertue.

Being reproued for that he was a taker of money of his frendes, he said, that he did not take any soche money, to thentent and purpose, to conuerte it to his owne vse and commoditee, but that thei might learne vpon what things money ought to be bestowed. 23.

Why *Aristippus* toke money of riche folkes.

The due and right vse of money.

¶ For, the moste part of riche folkes casteth awaie their money, either vpon horses, or on buisie and sumptuous buildynges, or els other riottous waies: whereas it ought to be giuen in almes to good and honest men, if thesame be in nede. Yea, and a manne maie an other waie also vnderstand and applie this saiyng. *Aristippus* did not spend any money, but on thinges for his lluyng necessarie, and therefore he toke rewardes of richemen, to declare plainly vnto thesame, the right waie to apply it to good vses, and that could he not do, onelesse thei had founde vnto his handes, wherwithal to doe it: as he that hath an earnest desire to learne the feacte of writyng, findeth and deliuereth paper, penne and ynke, to the partie that shall teache hym.

Aristippus did not spende money, but vpon, thinges necessarie.

To a feloe laiyng vnto him, in the waie of reproche, that in a cause to his own persone apperteinyng, he had with money hired the help of an oratour, to plead for him at the barre, he saied: Why, that is not so greate a wonder, for when I would haue any Supper dressed too, I hier a Cooke. 24.

¶ The other parties minde was, that it should appere, the Oratour to bee of more excellencie or dignitie then the Philosophier, for this poincte, because the Philosophier gaue money to haue his helpe, and he turned it cleane contrary, notifiyng him to be the inferiour, and of lesse dignitee, that is hiered. For the office of an oratour, or a man of Lawe, is of a more base sorte, then to become a Philosophier. He

A philosophier to bee of more excellencie and dignitee, then an Oratour.

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25. He was on a tyme bidden this and that to talke out of his bookes of Philosophie. And when Dionysius wondrous earnestly and instauntely required hym thereunto, beyng at that time verie euill willing and lothe to medle, he saied: It is a fonde and a mad thing, if ye desire me somwhat to saie in Philosophie, and yet your self wil teach me, and appoinct when my moste oportunitee and occasion is to speake.

The Philosophier self, beste knoweth when to speake, and when not.

¶ He meaned that one of the chief poinctes, to a Philosophier belongyng, is euen this, to knowe what times it is moste meete to speake, and when not to speake. But he that maketh request to heare any one thyng or other, out of Philosophie, declareth that he would learne Philosophie of the Philosophier. On the other side againe, he that would constrain a man to speake, whether he be disposed or no, sembleth and pretendeth to bee maister or superiour in learnyng, to the Philosophier self, in that he taketh vpon him, to haue better knowlege of the due and conuenient time when to speake then the very Philosophier in deede.

Not the lowe place maketh the man of lesse dignitie, but of the worthinesse of the persone moche honoure groweth to the place.

The king beyng for this aunswere of Aristippus in an high fume commaunded hym to sit in the lowest place of all, at the table. Aristippus in this case nothyng discontented, saied in this maner: Sir king it is your pleasure (I perceiue) to nobilitate this place, and to make it honourable.

¶ Signifiyng not the place to make the man of lesse dignitee, but of the worthines and honestie of the persone, moche honour to redounde and growe vnto the place.

26. A certain feloe standing highly well in his own conceipt, for his cunnyng in swimming, Aristippus could not abide. And art thou not ashamed, said

It is a foolishe

said he, with soche a saucie and presumpteous braggue, to bost thy self of those thinges, whiche been naturall propertees of the dolphin fishes.

thing for a man to bost himself, of soche feactes as other thinges can of their natural propertie dooe beter then he.

¶ It had been more pretie & feact, if he had saied, of frogues. It is comely for a man, to glorie and braggue of soche thinges, as bee naturall for a man onely to doe. And nothyng is more agreable with the nature of man, then to excelle in reason, wisedome, and discrecion. There is no man so expert a swimmer, but that in this feacte & qualitee, he is ferre passed and ouercomed of the Dolphin fishes.

The Dolphin fishes haue a propertee to swimme aboue the water, and thei are delited in the melodious armonie of musicall instrumentes. Thei beare notable loue towardes man, in so moche that diuers of them haue caried children aboute, and ouer the sea dailie of course and custome, as we read in Cicero, in Plinius, in Aulus Gellius, and in other writers.

Beyng asked in what thing a manne of perfect sapience, differed from a man voide of all learnyng and knowlege. Sende one of either sorte naked, saied he, vnto menne vnknowen, and thou shalt see. 27.

¶ He signified that a man indued with sapience, carrieth about with him, wherwith to commende himself, and to be welcome vnto al maner persones in the worlde. If therefore ye should sende a learned man and a persone vnlearned, either of them as naked as euer thei wer borne, into a straunge countrie, where neither of theim bothe haue any acquaintaunce: the sapiente man vtteryng and shewyng foorthe, the treasures of his high knowlege and cunnyng, should anone finde and get bothe money and frendes, the other not hauyng a raggue to hang about him, should be skorned and laughed at, as a Iacke of Bethleem, and should hardly escape to perishe and dye for hounger.

What diffrence there is betwen a learned man and a persone vnlearned.

To a feloe making his bost, that he could drinke moche, & yet not bee drunken: What wonder is it thou talkest of, said Aristippus, sens that euery mule & horse doth thesame. 28.

Boste of drinking is vain.

A certain

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29. A certain persone laied vnto the charge of Aristippus as a vice, that he kept company with a common stroumpet. Whom he confuted with an induccion, soche as Socrates commonly vsed, in maner as foloweth: Go to, tel me this, doest thou thinke it to make any matter, whether a bodie take an hous, which many haue inhabited, or els an hous whiche no manne hath afore dwelled in? When he had said that it made no matter: What saied Aristippus, doeth it any thyng force, whether one be a passinger, and doe saile in a shippe, that hath carried a greate nomber aforetymes, or els in a shippe that hath caried none? When he had saied naie to that also: What matter of force is it then (quoth he) whether a man haue to dooe with a woman, that hath bestowed herself on many sondrie persones afore, or els vpon none at all?

¶ This saiyng also might be (as a thing merily spoken) accepted emong them, in whose opinion, simple fornication was not rekened for a sin.

30. When he was taken vp, and reproched of a feloe, because that being the disciple of Socrates, he was (contrarie to the vsage of Socrates) a taker of money for his teaching of Philosophie: I doe that (quoth he) not without good cause why. For vnto my Maister Socrates, a greate nomber of riche and welthie frendes, did sende bothe Wheate and Wine, of the whiche, his maner was to reserue a small porcion for his necessary occupiyng, and the residue to sende backe againe. In deede he had to his stewardes, the greatest gentlemen of all the Atheniens and I haue none other steward, but myne owne bondseruaunt Eutychides, whom I bought with my money.

Why *Aristippus* was a taker of money, for teachyng Philosophie, more then *Socrates* was.

Eutychides the seruaunt of *Aristippus*.

¶ He notified that he did set euen as little by money,

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money, as did *Socrates*, but that *Socrates* had frendes of more bountie. By this colour might some persones excuse them selues, euen now of daies, professyng outwardly in wordes, excedyng greate contempte of golde and siluer, whereas thei haue right good store of money liyng in the handes and custodie of their frendes, that foreniers, thei had bounteous stewardes and proctours, for all their necessarie store of food & viandrie, but that now thei should make ful many an hungry mele, if thei had not a good summe of money in one place or other laied vp in store.

The excuse of some persones, that in wordes professen contempt of mony and yet haue money enough liyng in store in the handes of their frends.

The reporte goeth that Aristippus was a customer of one Lais, a very notable misliuing woman. For whiche matter, wheras he had a verie eiuill name abrode emong al the people, to a feloe obiecting vnto hym that beyng a Philosophier, he was at the becke and commaundement of Lais. Naie Mary (quoth he) Lais is at my commaundement and not I at the commaundement of Lais. 31.

Aristippus a customer of *Lais* the harlot. *Lais* was a strumpet dwelling in *Corinthe*, vnto whom for her excellent beutie resorted many rich louers out of al parteis of the countree of Grece, but no manne had his pleasure on her except he gaue her own asking whiche was verie greate.

¶ Signifiyng that it was no matter of dishonestee, now and then to take pleasure: whiche at that season was thought lawfull, but to bee as a bondman, and to be wholly giuen thereunto, worthie to be rekened in the nomber of things shamefull and abominable.

At an other season, to a feloe laiyng to his rebuke, that he was ouer deintie of his mouthe and diete, he did with this reason giue a stopping oistre. Coldest not thy self (quoth he) finde in thy harte, to buie of thesame kind of meates or dishes that I doe, if thou mightest haue theim for a dandiprat? And when he, that would nedes shewe himself to bee a despiser of all delicates, had therevnto aunswered, Yes: Then doe not I, saied Aristippus, so earnestlie minde or tender sensualitee, as thou doest auarice. 32.

Many that pretende the contempte of delicates, would fare of the best

For,

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if thei might of free cost, or for a little money.

¶ For, he would fain haue vsed as delicate fare as *Aristippus*, if it would haue come of free coste, or for a verie little money. In thesame wise doen certain nacions laie vnto the Germains quaffyng, and to the Englishe men, gourmaundyng and eating while the bealie will hold, whereas there bee no greater raueners or gluttons in the worlde, then themselfes, if at any tyme soche chaunce doe fall, that thei maie of free coste eate and drinke their fille. Then more couetous are those nacions, and not more temperate or sober of diet. Verie moche like vnto this, it is: that I shewed of the pertrige afore, in the second saiyng of thissame *Aristippus*.

The Germains are noted of moch drinking and the englishemen of moche eatyng.

Couetuousnes oft times begileth the bealie.

33. *Simus* the receiuer generall and treasorer to *Dionysius*.

The receiuer generall and treasourer vnto Dionysius, named Simus, a Phrygian borne, shewed vnto Aristippus his mainor place, being in euery corner verie neat and clene, yea, euen the very floore couered and checkerwise sette, throughout with square pauyng stones of greate price. Aristippus, when he had well looked about, and vewed euery thing, voided the spetle of his mouth euen full in the beard of Simus: and to thesame Simus highly fuming at the matter, he excused hym self by this colour, that he could espie no place ne thyng in all the whole hous, more meete to receiue the filthie dreiuill or spattreyng of the mouthe.

Aristippus spetted on the euill fauoured face of *Simus*.

The face ought to be the moste clene of all the partes of the bodie.

¶ Notyng thereby, that in the whole hous, there was nothyng more lothsome to beholde, or more vncleane, then the face of that barbarous felowe, whereas that part of a manne ought to be moste cleane of al. Albeit this saiyng is more like to bee of some Cynike then of *Aristippus*, how so euer it is fathered on hym.

34. Being on a time delited with a notable swete smel, that was about a delicate feloe, thus he saied, Now a mischief on the hartes of these naughtie & wretched muttonmungers, that haue brought soche

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soche a singulare good thing as this, in slaunder & infamie.

Many good thinges be reiected through the faulte of leude persones vsing thesame naughtelie.

¶ Menyng, that a greate nomber of thinges of themselfes good, be abandoned and reiected from honeste mennes occupiyng, through the faulte of other leude persones, who putte thesame thinges to euill vses.

35. *Aristippus* wished to die no wurse then *Socrates* had dooen.

Beyng asked the question, How Socrates ended his life: Euen so as I would wish to doe, saieth he.

¶ Meanyng that soche diyng is rather to bee wished for, then any kinde of life in this transitorie worlde. Neither was it possible for him in few wordes. to describe a more blissed maner of diyng. The pith of the saiyng consisteth in this poinct, that the Philosophier aunswered an other thyng, then the demaunder looked for. The one asked his question of the kinde of death, that is, whether he had died of some sickenesse, of a sweard, by poisone, or by breakyng his necke, by reason of some fal from an highplace: the other thinking that matter to be of smal force aunswered that he had made a blissed, a perfecte, and a vertuous ende.

It forceth not what kynde of death we haue so we dye verteously *Socrates* made a blissed ende.

36. *Poliaenus* a Sophiste.

Polyænus the Sophiste, beyng entered into the hous of Aristippus, when he espied there, women gorgeouslie apparelled, and a feast of high prouision and furniture, begon to reproue soche greate excesse in a Philosophier. Aristippus making as though he had not marked that chiding, within a while said vnto him: Maie ye finde in your harte, to take peines at diner here with vs for this ones? When the other had answered, that he could be contented so to do with all his harte: Why finde ye fault at it then, quoth he? For ye seeme not to reproue the table for the dentie fare, but for the coste.

Many that reproue dentye fare & delicates can well fynd in their hartes to take parte of the same.

¶ For, if the feast had for this poincte misliked him, that it was ouer delicate he would haue refused

To allow the fare, and to bee

to

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offended with the cost of the same, argueth not a man sobre of diete, but lothe to spend money.

to be one of the geastes. And as for the ordinaunce to allowe, and with the charges of thesame to be offended or discontented, semeth to bee a poinct, not of one that abhorreth excesse of meat and drinke, but of a niggarde, and of one that is lothe to spende any money.

37. *Aristippus* a despyser of golde and siluer.

It is vneth beleueable that Bion reporteth of hym, when his seruaunte bearyng money of his, as he trauailled in a iournie was ouercharged with the heauie burden of thesame, he said cast away the ouerplus and carrie that thou maiest with thin ease.

38. *Aristippus* caste his golde into the sea.

Trauaillyng by sea on a certain tyme, after that he had due knowledge, that the shippe belonged to Pirates and rouers on the sea, he laied abrode his golde, and begon to tell it, and anon after sodainly let it fall ouer boorde into the sea for the nones, and then gaue a greate sigh, sembleyng that it had fallen out of his hande vnawares, and moche against his wille.

¶ By this ingen or subtile deuise, he found meanes to saue his owne life, when the matter and occasion why to kille hym, or to trie maisteries with hym for his money was ones taken awaie from the Pirates. Some writers there bee, that reporten hym to haue spoken these wordes also. Better it is that all this geare be cast awaie by Aristippus, then Aristippus to perishe, and to bee caste awaie for this geares sake.

Better that money bee caste away by a man, then a man to be caste awaie for moneis sake.

39. Why *Aristippus* lefte *Socrates* & went into Sicilie.

Unto Dionysius demaundyng, why Aristippus was come into Sicilie, forsaking Socrates, he aunswered: Marie to the ende that of soche thinges as I haue I maie, giue you parte, and of soche thinges as I haue not, to take parte with you.

¶ There been that reporten hym in this wise to haue answered. When I wanted sapience, I resorted vnto Socrates, and now because I want money, I am come to your grace.

Aristippus

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Aristippus vnto Plato chiding with him for that he had bought a great deale of fishe for one Diner, he aunswered, that he had bought it all for an halfpenie. And when Plato had thus said: Of that price euen I my self could haue founde in my harte to haue bought it: Ye see then O Plato, quoth Aristippus, that, not I am gredie to haue plentee, and varietee of sondrie cates, but your self to beare greate loue to money.

40. *Aristippus* chidden of *Plato* for biyng diuerse cates at ones, what he aunswered. *Plato* loued monie better then *Aristippus* loued good fare. In the .2. in the .7. and in the .32. saiynges of *Aristippus*.

¶ Certain saiynges moche like vnto this, been afore recited.

Thesame man in the citee of * Aegina at the solemne feastes of † Neptunus, had to doe with ‡ Phryne a misliuyng woman there. And when a feloe had cast him in the nose, that he gaue so large monie, to soche a naughtie drabbe, who sticked not to let beggerie Diogenes the Cinike, to haue parte of her bodie: Aristippus in this maner answered: I giue her money, and many other gaie good thinges, to haue my pleasure on her for myne owne part, and not to the intent, that no man els should.

41. * *Aegina* was a goodly citee adiacent vnto *Peloponnesus*, not ferre from the hauens mouth called *Pyraeus*, and it stode euen directly against the countrie of *Attica*, and therfore was of a certain *Atheniens* called *Lippitudo Atticæ*, that is the bleryng of *Attica*. For the goodlinesse of *Aegina* did moche disgrace the beautie of *Attica*, and did as ye would saie: drowne it. Some giue the name of *Aegina* to the whole ile.

¶ This is lefte in writyng of the said *Phryne*, that although she was a passyng faire woman, yet was she as common as the cart waie, on who soeuer came without preferring or choice of this man, or that man, whether thei wer riche, or poore, shewing her self disdainfull & coie towardes no persone, come who would. To this had the poete *Horatius* respect in thus saiyng.

Me libertina, nec vno contenta Phryne macerat.

I frette and pein with burnyng loue
Of Phryne, who this other daie
Out of her bondship did remoue,
And now is common, as carte waie.

† *Neptunus*, *Iupiter* and *Pluto*, were three brethren, and sonnes of *Saturnus* gotten vpon *Ops* the sister and wife of the same *Saturnus*. Thei so diuided the regions, that

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that *Iupiter* should haue vnder his dominion, the high countries, *Pluto* the lower countries, and *Neptunus* the Isles and the seas. Whereof the Poetes haue feigned *Iupiter* to be the God of heauen, *Pluto* of helle, and *Neptune* of the waters. In honor of *Neptunus* were yerelie celebrate in the Isle or toune of *Aegina*, certain solemnities, whiche were called *Neptunalia*, of *Neptunus* his name, and by an other name *Salatia* of *Salum*, the Sea.

‡ *Phryne* was an harlot of excellent beautie, but so common that she refused none, whatsoeuer he were: and (as occasion serued for her mercate) she customablie resorted to all places, where any solemnitie of Sacres or martes, or any other occasion of greate haunte and resort was. Albeit her moste dwelling was in the citee of *Athenes*. She is moche mencioned, not onelie in the Poetes and Historiographiers, but also in sondrie places of this present werke.

42. *Aristippus* rebuked of *Diogenes* for keping compaignie with *Phryne* the harlotte.

Diogenes in this maner rebuked Aristippus, for hauyng to doe with Phryne; O Aristippus, thou art a greate medler with this woman, beyng a stewed strumpette, and therefore either plaie the doggue as I doe, or els leaue soche facions, as thou doest vse. Aristippus by induccion in this wise, shifted hym of. Diogenes seemeth it vnto thee, a thyng to be abhorred, that a manne should dwell in an hous, whiche others afore tymes haue inhabited? When he had saied No: What (said Aristippus) is it shame to saile in a Shippe, that hath aforetymes caried a great nomber mo? When that also he had denied to stande againste reason: Why then doest thou suppose it to be vnreasonable (quoth he) to ioigne with a woman, of whom a greate nomber of persones, haue tofore had their pleasure.

Afore in the .22. saiyng. *Athenaeus* a Greke historiographier.

¶ This is aboue mencioned, sauyng that *Athenaeus* dooeth in this maner and forme tell the tale.

43. *Aristippus* a man of good possessions & landes.

When he had loste a wonderfull pleasaunt mainour place, with al the appurtenaunces, vnto a certain persone earnestly lamentyng thesame his pietous chaunce, he saied: What, doest thou not knowe well enough, thou hast but one little poore hous with a small piece of lande to it, and that I haue yet three whole lordshippes left? When the other partie had therto graunted, he said: Why

When a man hath lost anie

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Why do we not then rather lament thy case.

part of his substance, he should take coumforte of that, that is leafte.

¶ Meaning that it had been an vnwise part of hym, rather to take sorowe for that that he had lost, then ioye and comfort of that that was lefte.

To one that by the waie of opposyng hym, asked this question, Arte thou euery where? I leese no freite money then (quoth he) or I spende no freite money in waste, if I bee in euery place. 44.

¶ *Aristippus* with a mocke alone, wiped awaie the Sophisticall question, Whether one and thesame bodie, maie at one time be in diuers and sondrie places at ones. When he aunswered, that so beyng, there was no perill of lesyng his freite money, or of spendyng freite money in waste. For he leseth his freite money, who when he hath paied his money, is not caried thither, as his desire is. It maie, by leauyng out the negacion, bee taken in this sense also. Then haue I in my daies lost some freit money, or then haue I spent in waste, and haue loste moche good money giuen heretofore for freite or bote hiere.

Whether one & thesame bodye may be in sondrie places at ones.

☞ As though he should haue said: If one body maie be in mo places then in one at ones, I haue many a tyme in my daies paied money in vain, and haue like a foole spent money in waste, to be carried ouer sea in a shippe, from one place to an other, forasmoche as I was there alreadie before I came.

☞ The meaning & sense of the words of *Aristippus* in so saiyng, (as I vnder the correccion of *Erasmus* take it) was: I lese no freite money then, &c., I cast awaie no freit money then, &c. That is, I spend no freite money then, &c. For he leeseth his money that spendeth, when he hath no maner nede nor occasion to spend it. And he that is alreadie in euery place where he would bee, nedeth not to spende money, to bee carried thither. As if he should haue saied to the feloe: if one bodie maie bee in all places at ones, thou maiest be assured, I would not bee so madde as to giue freite money, when I wer disposed to take shipping, & to go ouersea from one place to an other.

Beyng confounded and made blanke, in a disputacion of a certain feloe that was saucie & presumpteous, but thesame a furious ragyng feloe, of no more witte then a beaste: when he sawe him hoppe and fett his gambaudes for ioye, and swellyng 45.

Aristippus was nothyng greued to take a blanke in disputacion.

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swellyng in pride, by reason of that victorie. In dede, quoth he, I go awaie confounded, but yet like to slepe this night more swetely and soundly then thy self, that hast put me to this blanke.

Unwrathfullie spoken.

46. Helicon of the toune of ☞ Cysicus a philosophier in Plato his tyme, had Prognosticate the eclipse of the Sunne: who after that it had chaunced, according to his Prognosticacion, had of Dionysius a * talent of siluer in reward. Then saied Aristippus to the rest of the Philosophiers: I also haue a right wondreous thyng that I could Prophecie. Thei hartly desiryng him thesame to vtter: I Prophecie (quoth he) that Plato and Dionysius wil erre many daies to an ende breake a strawe betwene them.

Helicon Cyzicenus a Philosophier of *Athenes*, excellyng in all the Mathematicall sciences, in the same time when *Plato* was.

Dionisius offended with *Plato*, long ere he would shewe it outwardlie.

¶ For, he had alredie perceiued the king now a good while to keepe his mynde secrete, and to dissemble his angre and displeasure, conceiued against *Plato*.

☞ *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum*, an Isle in *Propontis*, hauing a waie to the maine land by 2 bridges, & hauing also a citie of thesame name, with walles, castles, and toures of marble stone, as faire and goodly as might bee, and in largenesse, compace, and amplitude, hable to compare with the chief citiees in all *Asia*. It was so named, by one *Cyzicus* somtime kyng there, whom *Iason* vnawares slewe. It was also a citee of great power, and indifferently set, either for peace or warre.

* A talent of siluer, the Frenche enterpreter folowyng *Budaeus* doeth translate, sixe hundred crounes, whiche after the rate of fowertene grotes the croune, amounteth to the summe of one hundred and fowertie poundes of our currant money.

47. He said, this in the maners and facions of men, to be the worst thing that was possible to bee, that in publike sales thei dooe narrowly serche pottes and pannes, ere thei will buie them, and will not serche and examine the life of soche persones, as thei matche to themselfes in frendship, and entiere familiaritee.

Frendes ought to bee tried, ere thei be receiued into familiaritee.

¶ And yet a moche higher vtilitee and profite, redoundeth to a man of faithfull frendes, then of pottes or pannes, and a moche greater losse and disauauntage, except he chose of the right sorte, soche as should be.

A greate disauauntage, if a man chose not his frendes of the best sorte.

When

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When Dionysius at a banket, had commaunded that all the companie should addresse themselfes, to maske ech man in purple. ¶ And purple in those daies, was for the wearyng of none, but kinges and princes, where now it is commonly taken vp with euery Sowter and Cobler. Plato refused to doe it, recityng for his purpose these metre verses, out of sum Tragedie. 48.

Purple in olde tyme, was for the wearing of none, but kynges & princes.

Plato refused to daunce in purple at the request of *Dionisius.*

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδῦναι στολὴν
ἄῤῥην πεφυκὼς, καὶ γένους ἐξ ἄῤῥενος.

My harte abhorreth, that I should so
In a womans kirtle, my self disguise,
Beyng a manne, and begotten to
Of a mannes prosapie, in manly wise.

To bee disguised in womannes clothyng, is vnfitte for a man.

But Aristippus made no courtesie at the matter, but being dressed in Purple, & readie to goo to dauncyng, he pronounced these verses, without any studie sodainly.

Aristippus refused not to daunce in purple at the byddyng of *Dionisius.*

καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν
ὁ νοῦς ὁ σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

Euen emiddes, the furious ragyng
Of sacrifice doen, to the God Bacchus,
A minde, wholly addicte, to sober liuyng
Will not be corrupt, ne made vicious.

Nothing can corrupt a mind wholly dedicat to vertue.

As he was making suite and intercession, on a time to Dionysius, in the behalfe and fauour of a frende of his, and the king would not heare his suite and peticion, Aristippus fallyng doune flat on the ground before him, begun to embrace and kisse the kinges feete, and by that meanes at laste, obteined his purpose and request. And when certain persones, reproued thesame fact of his, as more vile and more humble then was comly for a Philosophier, I am not in the blame quoth 49.

Wittyly spoken *Dionysius* had his eares in his feete.

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Aristippus a man of a passynge readye witte, aswell to dooe as to excuse any thing.

(quoth he) but Dionisius, which hath his eares standing in his feete.

¶ A wittie like prompt and ready in all assaies, aswell to doe as also to excuse any thyng whatsoeuer it were.

50. Artaphernes liuetenaunt generall in Asia vnder the king of the Persians *Aristippus* arested in Asia by *Artaphernes.*

In the countree of Asia, he was attached by Artaphernes the high capitain, or liuetenaunt generall there, vnder the kyng of the Persians. And at thesame present season, when one demaunded of him, whether euen there also, his old accustomed stoutnesse of harte failled him no more, then it had been wont to doe. Foolishe dawe (quoth he) as though I haue at any time in all my life been, of a better courage or stomacke, then euen at this presente houre, that I muste speake to Artaphernes.

Aristippus stood in drede of no manne lyuing.

¶ Verely this thyng, by the benefice of philosophie, was roted in hym, that he stode in drede of no man liuyng, but would be frank and free with euery persone, to saie his mynde.

51. Suche as beeyng furnished with other disciplines, do neglect morall phylosophye, are lyke the woers of *Penelope*, Doughter not of *Icarus*, but of *Icarius*, and the wife of *Vlysses*, who during the absence of her housebande ten yeres, being awai at the battaille of Troie, and other tenne yeres

Those persones, who beyng furnished with the liberall studies of humanitee & of the tonges, did slouthfully neglect the study of Philosophie Moralle, he likened to the woers of * Penelope.

¶ For thei entred loue with *Melanthon* and with *Polydora*, beyng her handmaidens, and conceiued hope soner, to obteine all the worlde besides, then mariage of the ladie her self. His meanyng was, that the liberall sciences been, as it wer, the handmaidens of morall philosophie, whiche morall Philosophie is, with the first of all to be put in vre, and for whose respecte and cause, all the other disciplines † are learned. A moche like thyng *Aristo* ☞ also is reported to haue saied to *Vlysses*, who when he was descended to hell, thesaied *Aristo* affirmeth, that he talked familiarely with all the soulles there for the moste parte, sauyng that he could

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could not so moche as ones, come to the sight of the Queene her self.

wandryng on the seas, ere he could gette

home into his countrie of *Ithaca*, kept her self chaste and true wife vnto the same *Vlysses*. And where she had moste importune, and thesame continuall suite made vnto her, by many ioylie rufflyng wooers, to haue her in mariage, she droue them of all by this colour, that she had a loume of linnen clothe in weauyng, which beyng ones finished, she would giue vnto her woers, a determinate and a final aunswere. Then vsed she this policie, to vnweaue in the night asmoch werke, as she had made vp in the daie before. By reason wherof diuers of the gentlemen that wooed her, beyng with their long suite weried and tiered, fell in hande to haue wanton conuersacion with *Melanthon* and *Polydora* her handmaidens, as vterlie dispairyng that euer thei should achiue to the obteinyng of *Penelope* her self.

* For morall Philosophie was to them, that diuinitee and holy scriptures are to vs christian menne.

† This *Aristo* was a Philosophier, and was called in maner as by a surname, *Scepticus*, because he was altogether occupied, in considering & serching the state of humain thinges. He was borne in the isle of *Coos* albeit some saie he was *Chius*, and was scholar (as some writers saien) to *Zeno*, the first author and bringer vp of the Stoikes secte, after some writers, he was a *Peripatetike*, that is, of *Aristoteles* his secte. But as concerning Philosophie, aswell morall as natural, his determinacion and doctrine is of all the auncient good writers reproued, and vtterly condemned as naught. For by his opinion, all thinges are indifferent, and no diuersitie betwen being in perfect good health, & in extreme sicknes and so of other thinges. Wherfore his doctrin was disallowed of all menne, as testifieth *Cicero* in the proheme of thoffices & in his werke *de finibus bonorum & malorum*. Ther was also an other *Aristo* father vnto *Plato*.

To one demaundyng what thinges wer most requisite, and necessarie to be learned of younge folkes, he saied: Thesame that maie doe them best seruice, when thei shal be at the full mannes state.

52. What things are most requisite to be lerned of yong folkes.

¶ This saiyng is ascribed to others also, besides *Aristippus*. The principall best thinges are euen at the first beginning to be learned, neither the tender and vnbroken yongth, whiche is of it self moste apt to learn is to be forepossessed, with thinges superfluous.

The principall best thinges, at euen with the first to be learned. Yong age most apt to learne.

After that Aristippus had gathered together greate gooddes and substaunce of money, & Socrates hauing conceiued great meruaill thereof, said: How hast thou come by so moche richesse? How haue ye come by so little? quoth he again.

53. *Aristippus* gathered together moche richesse.

¶ For, he thought it a thyng, no lesse worthie admiracion, that *Socrates* beyng a Philosophier of so greate estimacion,

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estimacion, and hauyng soche greate frendes, should be poor, then that hymself should be riche.

54. To a certain common woman, saiyng I am with child by you Aristippus: That can ye not for a suertie knowe (quoth he again) any more then goyng on Thornes, standyng as thicke as is possible one by an other, ye maie truely auouch this Thorne it is, that hath pricked me.

Wittilie and featlie spoken.

55. A certain persone openly blaming him that he did in soche wise exile, caste of, and let ren at all auentures his sonne, as if thesame had neuer been begotten by hym, he saied: Doe we not cast awaie from vs, as fer as we can, bothe flegme and spettle, & also Lice, with other vermine, breedyng of our own bodies, as thinges seruyng to no good vse ne purpose.

Aristippus caste of his sonne, & let him run at rouers.

¶ He meaned them not worthie to bee accompted for a mannes soonnes, that had nothing els wherewith, to shewe themselfes worthie the fauor of their parentes, but onely that thei wer of them begotten, and brought into this worlde. So the old man in the comedie saieth.

Menne maye iustely refuse those sonnes, in whiche is no grace at all.

* Ego te meum dici tantisper volo, dum id quod te dignum est facias.

So long & no lenger, thou shalt my son be,
As thou behauest thy self, with honestee.

* The words of *Menedemus* to his sonne, *Clinia* in the third comedie of *Terence*.

56. When Dionysius had giuen in reward, vnto Aristippus money, & vnto Plato bookes, Aristippus beyng checked of a certain persone, as one whose minde was more on his halfpenie, then Plato had set his: What matter maketh that (quoth he) I had neede of money, and Plato of bookes.

Dionisius gaue in reward, to *Aristippus* money, & to *Plato* bookes.

¶ Meanyng, that neither of them bothe was blame worthie to take the thing which might best serue his purpose:

☞ For of a likelihoode *Dionysius* had put either of them to the choise, whether thei wold haue money, or bokes.

Being

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Being asked for what cause Dionysius did in soche wise call hym foole, and all to naught, For the verie same cause (quoth he) that other folkes doen. 57.

Dionisius would call *Aristippus* foole & all to naught.

¶ Menyng the plain and franke speakyng of a Philosophier, to be combrous and hatefull to all persones, and therefore no meruaill to be, if the kyng might euill abide it: al vnder one together, intimatyng the kynges iudgemente, nothyng to differ from the iudgemente of the grosse multitude, for that fortune dooeth not conferre the indewmente, or gifte of Sapience.

The plain speakyng of a philosophier, no man can well allow.

Sapience is not geuen by fortune.

He asked of Dionysius at a tyme, by the waie of peticion, a Talent. And when the king hauing gotten an occasion, to confounde him by his owne wordes, and to cast hym in his owne turne, saied: Diddest not thou openly affirme, & saie that a Philosophier is neuer in penurie, or extreme nede? Well, giue the talent (quoth he) and then we shall afterward reason of that matter. When he had receiued the money: And was it not well & truly saied of me, quoth he, that a Philosophier is neuer in extremitee of neede? 58.

A Philosophier is neuer in extreme penurie.

¶ That persone is not in extreme penurie, who at all tymes of neede, is assured where to receiue, and to haue enough.

He is not in penurie, who at al times of neede is assured wher to haue enough.

Unto Dionysius reciting out of a tragedie of Sophocles, these twoo little verses. 59.

πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ὅστις ἐμπορεύεται
κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

Who so a tyrannes courte, doeth haunt,
There to bee a continuall dweller
Is vnto thesame, a bondseruaunt,
Though he wer no bondman, ere he cam ther.

Aristippus aunswered onelie a sillable or twaine of the latter verse, corrected in this maner.

οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

A free mynd is euerywher free.

Is

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Is not to thesame a bonde seruaunt,
If he wer no bondman, ere he came there.

True libertee perteineth to the mynd more then to birthe.

¶ Signifiyng none to bee free, and out of bondage in deede, except whose verie minde and hart philosophie hath deliuered discharged, and made free, bothe from hope and feare, for to be a free man outright, it is not enough, to haue been borne in fredome, or out of seruitude and bondage. Some writers ascriben this saiyng vnto *Plato*.

60. A breache of loue betwene *Aristippus* and *Aeschines*.

When betwene Aristippus & Aeschines had bee fallen a little distaunce and breache of loue, and a certain feloe had said, Where is now that your great high frendship become? It slepeth (quoth he) but I shall awaken it, and raise it vp again.

A small variaunce doeth commonlie, by reason of silence, grow to a scab of open enmitee.

¶ Hereupon *Aristippus* by reason of this seasonable, or oportune and plain speakyng of the saied feloe, with a trice ended all the strief, and made all well againe.

To the entent that the sore might not by reason of silence, growe to an open scabbe (as moste commonly it dooeth, he of his owne voluntarie will came vnto Aeschines, and said in this maner: Shall not we twoo, euen now out of hande be at one again, as good frendes as euer we wer, and ceasse thus to playe the children? Or els shal we rather tary vntil wee shall minister to iesting knaues matter, to prate & iangle of vs twaine on the ale benche? To whom when Aeschines had made aunswere, That he would withal his hart, be reconciled & full agreed. Then, yet remember (quoth Aristippus) that I beyng the elder and the more auncient persone of the twain, haue come & sought on thee first. Then said Aeschines: Of a verie truth, thou art a greate deale more perfect honest man then I am,

Aristippus being the elder man, offreed firste to be agreed with *Aeschines*.

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am, for of me begun al this our falling out, and of thee to haue a perfect atonement.

¶ By this meanes thei wer reconciled of newe, and as good loue and frendship betwen theim, as euer there had been tofore.

At a certain season, sailling in the companie of three or fower of his own countree men or neighbours, he was cast on land by shipwracke. And when he had on the sandes, espied the prente of mathematicall figures of Geometrie drawen in the sande: All is wel maisters (quoth he) I haue espied the steppes and signes of men. 61.

Aristippus sailling to Rhodus was cast on land by shipwracke.

¶ And beeyng entred the citee there nexte by, he neuer left searchyng vntill he founde out what persones were there studious of disciplines: & after that he was ones mette with thesame, thei did with al humanitee possible, entertein not onely him for his own persone, but also the others that came with hym, yea and besides that, gaue them money enough in their purses, for their costes and charges, vntill thei should retourne thither againe in their waie homeward.

Aristippus after that he mette with learned menne in a straunge countre, was highly wel entreteined both he and all hys coumpaignie for hys sake.

After certain daies when the others that had come at the firste with Aristippus, addressed themselfes to returne in to their countree, and asked of hym, whether he would any message to bee dooen at home to his neighbours and countremen, he saied: Nothing but that thei applie them selues, to acquire and purchace soche maner richesse, as maie not perishe and be lost by shipwracke, but maie get to land with their owner.

True and veraye riches of the mynde.

¶ The self same matter dooeth *Vitruvius* reporte, in the sixth volume of Carpentrie or deuisyng, saiyng more ouer that *Aristippus* at that season, came to the citee of Rhodus.

Vitruvius writeth in Latin volumes of carpentrie, or deuisyng of buildynges.

When Socrates spake sore against soche persones as were perfumed with swete sauours, and Charondas, 62.

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Charondas, or (as some writers holden opinion) Phædon demaunded what feloe it was, so perfumed with swete oiles and sauours, Aristippus saied, Euen I it is miserable & wretched creature that I am, and a more miser then I, the kyng of the Persians. But marke, said he, that like as he is in this behalfe nothyng superiour to any other liuyng creature, so is he not a iote better then any other man.

A man by externall goodes is not made better.

¶ His meanyng was, that manne by externall or outward gooddes is made not a whitte the better. Bothe an horse all be smered with oile of balme or spike, should haue the self same sauor, that shuld a king: & a sely poore begger, being anointed or perfumed with the like kinde of oile or sauor, smelleth euen as well as doeth the highest prelate of them all.

¶ *The saiynges of*

DIOGENES * THE CYNIKE.

*Cynici, wer philosophiers of the sect of *Antisthenes* & *Diogenes* and were called *Cynici*, either of the place *Cinosarge*, wher *Antisthenes* kept his schoole, or els of the greke vocable κυνὲς Doggues. Because thei were euer moste importunelie barking and railling againste the vices of menne or els because in woordes of rebaudrie and shamelesse speaking, thei did with their foule mouthes represent the currishenesse of Doggues.

THE order (as I suppose) shall appere to hang verie well together, if next after the holinesse of *Socrates*, by saiynges of mirthe vttered, and after the merie plainesse of *Aristippus*, we make mencion and rehersall of ‡ *Diogenes* of ☞ *Sinope*, who in all manerfold grace of his saiynges, ferre passed and excelled the others. Howbeit, all these three Philosophiers, though in deede far vnlike, and in maner contrarie qualitees, yet neuerthelesse do I iudge one, euen as highly as an other to be estemed & had in honour: so that although thei were of very vnlike facions, yet maie ye well saie, that thei were in degree, feloes like one with an other.

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‡ *Diogenes* was scholar vnto *Antisthenes*. And thei twoo were the first and principal autours of the sect of the *Cinikes*, & therfore was he called *Cinicus*, whose life doth *Diogenes Laertius* write & largely prosecute. ☞ *Sinopa* (o long) was a citee of *Pontus*, or els verie nigh to it. Builded by the *Milesians*, a florent citee, and of greate power, in whiche wer many goodlie houses, and mansion places of roiall building, with schooles, mercate steedes, walking places, and gorgeous temples. And in this citee were borne *Timotheus Patrion Diphilus* a writer of Comedies, and *Diogenes Cinicus*, who was thereof called *Sinopensis*, or *Sinopaeus*.

1. *Diogenes* would nedes be scholare vnto *Antisthenes*.

First of all, hauing departed out of his owne countree, and placed himself in Athenes, he resorted to the Philosophier Antisthenes, to be his disciple: by whom although he was oft tymes put backe, and shifted of, (for Antisthenes would take no scholares) yet would he not ceasse stil to be an hanger on about him: in so moche that when Antisthenes on a tyme, offered to giue hym a stripe with a staffe, he willyngly put out his hed vnder the staffe, saiyng: Strike if thou be so disposed, yet shalt thou not finde any staffe so harde, where with to beate me awaie from thee, as long as thou shalt speake that maie concerne matters of learnyng.

Antisthenes would haue no scholares.

Diogenes had a wonderful loue & zele to sapience.

¶ A notable example of Sapience, with whole harte and minde, feruently desired and zeled.

2.

When he by chaunce sawe a mous renning, and whippyng aboute from place to place, in a certaine greene, within the citee of Athenes called Megaricum, whiche mous neither sought any hole, nor was afeard with the stiryng of folkes, nor had any lust to eate meate: A ioilie gaie example of libertie, saied Diogenes.

Whereof *Diogenes* toke occasion to take vp his dwellyng place in a tubbe.

¶ And euer forthwithall, renouncyng and forsakyng the worlde, he begun to take vp his dwellyng in a tubbe.

3. Why *Diogenes* had no house of his own to

To men wondryng that he had neuer a little hous, or corner of his owne, where he might quietly eate his meate: he shewed with pointyng of

eate & drinke in *Iouis Porticus*, *Iuppiter* his aley or galerie or *Iuppiter* his walke, a place in Athenes.

of his finger, the galerie or walking place that was called Iouis Porticus, and saied, that the people of Athenes had builded to his vse a roial mansion place where to dine & suppe, & to take his repast.

A thynge publike is ordeined for the vse of euery particular persone also seuerally.

¶ The thing that was publike, he enterpreted to be made and ordeined for him also particularely. Neither could he wishe or desire, a fresher or a more galaunt parlour to eate in.

4. The schoole of Euclides (for that thesame Euclides semed to teache in deede wittie conclusions, but yet nothing to the furtheraunce or helpe of vertuous liuyng) he called not σχολὴν, a schoole as the vsuall worde was in deede, but by a nicke name χολὴν, which souneth in Englishe cholere, angre & trouble, contrary to the significacion of the right worde σχολὴ, whiche souneth quiet vacacion. Semblable, the scholasticall exercitacion & conferring of Plato, called in Greke διατριβὴν, Diogenes by deprauyng and corruptyng the worde called καταtριβὴν, that is, mispendyng of moche good labour and time, because that Plato beyng sequestred and exempted from the practike liuyng emong men abrode in the worlde, did spend all his daies and tyme, in disputacions of wordes, where as Diogenes liuing emonges the thickest of the worlde abroade, had more minde and affeccion, to liue Philosophically, that is, accordyng to perfecte vertue, then onely in woordes to dispute and reason thereof.

Euclides was in the later dayes of *Plato* who wrote much of conclusions in Geometrie, which werke we haue yet in Greke and Latin.

Diogenes nickenamed the scholes of *Euclides* and of *Plato*.

χολὴ σχολὴ διατριβὴ καταtριβὴ

Diogenes set his minde more to liue after Philosophie, then to dispute thereof.

5. The games called Dionysiaca, whiche wer with greate charges, and moche pompe celebrated and holden at the citee of Athenes in the honour of * Bacchus, he called the greate wondermentes & gazinges of fooles.

Bacchus (after the feigning of the poetes) was *Iupiter* his son, begotten vpon

¶ For that in thesame was nothyng doen, but all together foolishe and worthie skorne.

Semele

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Semele the doughter of *Cadmus*, who being slain with lightening, *Iupiter* toke the childe, and sowed it within his thigh, and so kept it, vntil it was of maturitee to be borne, & then was he borne out of the thigh of *Iupiter*. He is called the God of wine, because he first found out the vse of wine, he is called in Greke Διόνυσος and thereof is derived *Dionysia*. And of *Dionisia* is denominated *Dionisiaca Certamina*, whiche the Latine menne callen of *Bacchus Bacchanalia*, the rites of *Bacchus*, which in the most part of the citees of Grece, wer kept euery third yere.

6. The oratours and aduocates (who wer had in high price and estimacion in Athenes) he called the common droudges and pages, of euery Iacke and Gille, for that thei wer of force constreined, to speake all that euer thei did, to please men, and euen like bonde slaues, to flatter the beastlie foolishe rable of the people. And the assembles of the people, swarmyng about thesame orators, he called the pimples or little wheales of glorie.

Frequente assemblees of the people gatheryng about the oratours been the pymples of glorie.

¶ The Greke word that he vsed, was ἐξανθήματα, that is, little pimples or pushes, soche as of cholere and false flegme, budden out in the noses and faces of many persones, & are called the Saphires & Rubies of the Tauerne.

☞ Mening thereby (as I suppose) that like as soche pushes in the visages of men, are angrie things and greffull, and also finall discomfort to the parties, that the same may not for shame shewe their faces, but hiden theimselfes, and refrein to come in compaignie: so the frequent assembles of people, swarming about oratours, doe finallie purchace and conciliate vnto the same moche enuie, displeasure, hatered, trouble and vexacion, ensuyng of the glorie that thei haue in the beginning. As chaunced to *Demosthenes*, and to *Aschines* in *Athenes*, and to *Cicero* in Roome.

7. Diogenes as often as in the life of men he considered and thought vpon the gouernours of citees, Phisicians, and Philosophiers, affirmed no liuing thing to be more sapient then man. Thesame Diogenes consideryng in his minde expouners of dreames, readers what shall foloe this dreame or that, southsaiers, and others of like sort, or els soche persones as wer wholy subiect to glorie and riches: auouched, that to his semyng there was nothing more foolishe, then man.

Nothing more sapiente then manne.

Nothing more foolishe then manne.

Notifiyng

The witte of manne, apte to al goodnesse, if it be set therto.

¶ Notifyng the witte of man, to be appliable and apt to all goodnesse, if it be exercised and enured therewithall, but if it fall from his right kinde to vice, then to be many degrees worse then the dumme brute beastes.

8. He vsed customably to saie, that in our life we should oftener prouide λόγου ἢ βρόχου, that is, a talker then an halter.

λόγος

βρόχος

¶ The Greke woorde, λόγος signifieth in Latine *sermonem*, in Englishe communicacion or talkyng. And the Greke vocable βρόχος, is in Latine, *laqueus*, in Englishe an halter or a strynge, soche as a bodie maie by the necke be hanged withall. Whiche he spake, for that soche persones as ar werie of their liues, and are in soche despaire, that thei would fain be out of the worlde, do many of them by and by hang and strangle theim selues, whereas thei ought rather to haue recourse to good communicacion, that might recomforte their spirites, and bryng them again from despaire. For, to the hart beyng in heauines and vtter discomfort: the beste Phisician is good and wholsome communicacion. Neither shall the sense be out of square, if ye take the Greke vocable λόγου (as in an other significacion it maie well bee taken) for reason.

What thyng, desperate persones should dooe.

In tymes of misfortune is wisedome & discrecion most to bee vsed.

☞ And then the sense shalbe, that men ought rather in times of displeasures and misauentures, to slaie them selues by reason, and to vse their discrecion and wisedome, in taking mischaunces paciently as men should doe, then vpon trifling occasions to fall in despaire, and so wilfully to cast awaie them selues, as many haue doen. Albeit taking λόγου, for talking, I thinke *Diogenes* mened that menne ought so to prouide, that their wordes and communicacion at all times be vertuous and fruitfull, aswell to the hearer, as to the speaker, and not of soche sorte as the speaker maie afterwarde haue cause to repent, and wishe within his bealie again. As *Seneca* noteth the improuidencie, & vnaduisednesse of many persones, whiche often tymes (as he speaketh it in Latin *Emittunt voces per iugulum redituras*, that is, letted escape wordes, that must afterward come back again by their own throtes, and cost them their neckes. So that *Diogenes* would no mennes communicacion to be soche as might afterward bee found hanging matters, and redounde to their owne confusion, but rather to be fruitfull and vertuous. For, onelie soche woordes and none other, been worthie the appellacion, or name of communicacion and talkyng

Menne oughte to haue no communicacion but suche as may be fruitful and edifiyng, aswel to the hearer as to the speaker.

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talkyng. of whiche redoundeth aswell to the hearer, as to the speaker some fruite, profite, and edifiying: and for whiche bothe parties maie be the better, and not haue cause afterward to beshrewe them selues. And soche as vsen naughtie and pernicious bableling doen often times procure their owne harmes, and been autours and werkers of their owne confusion.

No man ought to leate escape wordes, whiche muste afterwarde come home again by the throte.

☞ No woordes been worthie the name of talkyng, but such as been fruitefull. Suche as vse pernicius wordes are commenlie autoures of their owne confusion.

When Diogenes at a feast of high fare sawe Plato, not ones to put his hande to any of the deintie dishes, but to feede onely vpon a fewe Oliues, he saied: What is befallen moste sapient father, that wheras to come to soche maner fare as this, ye made ones a viage in to Sicilie, ye dooe here now abstein from ready prouision of meates, purposely dressed for you? To this saied Plato again, Yet iwis, O Diogenes, euen in Sicilie also I was satisfied with soche meat for the moste parte, as this that I eate now: Why then needed you to saile vnto the citee of Syracuse, saied Diogenes? Wer there no Oliues at that season, growyng within the countree of Attica? 9.

Plato a manne of sobre diete.

Syracuse the hed citee of all Sicilie, the noblenesse and richesse of which Tullie dooeth at large describe in the accions against Verres.

¶ This saiyng some writers ascriben to *Aristippus*.

Diogenes on a tyme, as he was eating figges, mette with Plato, and offeryng to him a fewe of his figges, said: Ye maie take some parte with me, if ye bee disposed. And when Plato had taken some, and eaten them, Diogenes saied: Ye maie take some parte, with me, wer my wordes, and not to raumpe theim vp on that facion. 10.

μεταςχεῖν εἶπον, οὐ καταφαγεῖν.

¶ This merie iesting worde, maie be applied to a serious matter, that is to wete, to be spoken on soche persones, as abusen the gentle permission & suffraunce of their prince, of their scholemaister, or of their parentes to the attempting or doyng of thinges vnlawful. As (for example) if one beyng aduertised, that it is a thing not vnprofitable to take a taste, and to haue

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a little sight in Logike, doe bestowe all the daies of his life on that studie. The saiyng is, in soche wise recited by *Laertius*, that one maie doubt whether of the ii. did offre the figges to thother.

11. *Plato* a sparing manne but a louer of clenlynesse.

Plato in deede was a frugall man, and a greate sparer or housbande, but yet one that loued to haue all thinges picked net and cleane. And contrariwise, Diogenes a verie slouen, and one that cared for no clenlinesse. Therfore trampling with his durtie feete, vpon Plato his fine piloes, and other bedding, to certain the familiare frends of Dionysius, beyng therein companie, whom Plato had desired to diner, he saied, I dooe now trede the ambicion of Plato vnder my feete, Plato anone aunswered thus, Yet in how greate pride swellest thy self, O Diogenes, while thou thinkest thy self to trede another mannes pride vnder thy fete. The self same thyng is by other writers, more pleasauntly reported. To Diogenes, saiyng I trede the pride of Plato vnder my feete: So thou doest in deede (quoth Plato) but it is with an other kinde of pride, as greate as mine.

Diogenes a veray slooueu. *Diogenes* trampleed with hys durtie feete vpon *Plato* his peloe and beddyng.

The ambicion and pride of *Diogenes*.

To make bost of contemning pride, is an high point of pride and ambicion.

More dishonestee is in seeking prease, by countrefeacted vertue.

¶ For, euen thesame was a poinct of pride, that he made so greate boste and vaunte of contemnyng clenlinesse. And those persones that do glorie and bragge of their niggishe slouenrie, and simplenes of their habite, been of their appetite, and in their hartes, no lesse ambicious, then soche as setten out themselfes in gorgeous, apparel albeit of an other sort, & in an other kinde. And a greate deale more dishonestee is there in that ambicion, whiche seketh laude and praise, of the false colour and cloke of vertue counterfeited. Yet *Socion* ascribeth this saiyng, not to *Diogenes* but vnto *Plato* the Cynike.

What thanks *Diogenes* rendred vnto *Plato*, for geuing hym wyne and fyggues more then he asked.

12. Diogenes had desired of Plato a little courtesie of wine, and eftsones to haue also a fewe figges.

Plato

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Plato sent hym a whole stene or pitcher full. To whom the Cynike rendred thankes in this maner: When it is demaunded of thee, how many is twoo and twoo, thou aunswerest, twentie: so neither doest thou giue thinges, according to a bodies askyng, ne makest a directe aunswere to soche questions, as are demaunded of thee.

Diogenes noted *Plato* of vnmesurable verbositee, and so did *Aristoteles* also.

¶ He noted *Plato*, as a man out of measure talkatif, which self same thing did *Aristoteles* also note in his writynges.

The eloquence of *Plato* is of all writers estemed to be such that if *Iuppiter* shoulde speake Greke he wold vse the phrase of *Plato*.

☞ Notwithstanding *Aristotle* his noting, which proceded of enuie, *Plato* is of al the Grekes estemed to be of so wittie inuencion in his writinges, and of so greate varietee, shift, eloquence, and good vtteraunce in speaking, that thesame Grekes pronounced, that in case *Iupiter* should or would speake Greke, he would speake with *Plato* his tongue and phrase. And no lesse dignitee and excellencie is to thesame *Plato* attributed by *Cicero*, *Quintilianus*, and all other Latine writers also, beyng of any iudgement.

To one demaunding in what parte of all the countree of Grece, he had seen good men: Men (quoth he) no where: but in the citee of Lacedaemon, I sawe good laddes. 13.

¶ Notyng the moste corrupt and vicious maners of al Grece throughout, in so moche that euen emong the *Lacedemonians*, a nacion least corrupted of al others, onely in the children remained the aunciente integritie and vncorrupcion. And all vnder one he signified, that in the residue of the countre of Grece, not so moche as the children neither wer good, honest, or vertuous. And this thing moreouer did he notifie, the men to be moche more vicious, then the boies, whereas of congruence the children ought by them, to be trained and nouseled in vertuous disposicion, and framed to an honest trade of liuyng.

The moste corrupt & vicious maners of all the countree of Grece through out in the time of *Diogenes*.

Children oughte of congruence to be trained & framed to vertuous disposicion

When Diogenes on a certain time treatyng, and making a declaracion of an earnest and saige matter of Philosophie, had not one hearer, that would giue diligente eare vnto him, he begun to sing soch another foolish song as (Robin Hood in Barnsdale 14.

How *Diogenes* rebuked the

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people, for that thei wer readie to harken vnto matters of lightenesse & slacke to giue eare to matters of grauitee.

Barnsdale stode, &c.) and sembleed as though he would daunce withall. And when a verie greate multitude of people had now gathered together and swarmed about him, he tooke them all vp for stumblyng, because that to thinges foolish, & seruyng to no good purpose, thei came rennyng by whole flockes, and as merie as Pies, where as to serious matters, and thesame moche auailable vnto good liuyng, thei neither would resort or approch or diligently giue eare.

¶ Verie like vnto this it is, that some writers ascriben to *Demosthenes* of the * shadoe of an Asse.

* So it was, that *Demosthenes* on a time being hot in making an oracion to the *Atheniens* the people wer sodainlie in soche a greate rore emong themselfes, that thei gaue no eare to *Demosthenes*, but rather troubled hym in his tale. Whereupon he saied, that he had twoo or three woordes to saie vnto theim requiring theim to hold their noise, and to giue good eare what he would saie. Immediately was made silence and *Demosthenes* in this wise begun. A certaine young man had hiered an Asse from *Athenes*, to the toune of *Megara*. And bothe the parties went together in company and being Somer season, about noone the Sonne weaxed so feruente hot, that for to couer theimselfes from the Sonne, either partie would nedes hide himself vnder the shadowe of the Asse. But thei fell at variaunce about it, and either partie would needes put of the other. The one saied, that he had set out the Asse to hiere, but not the shadoe, the other on his partie auouched, that forasmoche as he had hiered the Asse he had best right and title for the time during, to the shadoe of the Asse to. And immediatly after thus moche of the tale told, *Demosthenes* came doune from the pulpite or scaffolde. The people were so faine to heare the rest of the tale, that thei caught *Demosthenes* by the goune, and held him backe, nor would at no hande suffer him to departe, but required him in any wise, to make an ende of his tale. Then saied *Demosthenes* vnto them: Why are ye so desirous and fain, to listen a tale of the shadoe of an Asse, and haue no will ne minde at all to herken me, speaking of matters weightie, serious, and touching the common weale.

15. Men wille put theimselues to peines, for the atteining of all thinges, sauing vertue and honestee.

He rebuked men for that thei exercised and practised themselfes with fettyng gambaudes, and with sembleable toies, to the ende that thei might at length be exercised and cunnyng therein, and not one of them all would putte hymself to any peine, that thei might in fine, proue wel disposed, and honest menne.

16. *Diogenes* spared tauntyng no manne liuyng.

From no sort of men in the worlde, did he refrein or chamber the tauntyng of his tongue. He saied, that he greatly wondred at the Gramarians,

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marians, * that thei did with soche earnest study, make depe inquisicion, of the hard auentures of Vlysses, and knewe nothing of their owne mischaunces.

Diogenes checked the Grammarians.

¶ The *Grammarians* in olde time spent moste of their study and wer moste familiare in the ‡ *Rhapsodies* of *Homerus*. And he in his werke entiteled *Odissea*, maketh mencion and rehersall of diuers the wanderynges of *Vlisses* on the seas, and aboute sonderie countrees, ere he could gette home to *Ithaca*, after the burnyng of Troie.

* *Grammatici*, were those that spent their study in humanitee, and whom we cal scholemaisters

‡ *Rhapsodies* or that we cal thinges patched together, as the werkes of *Homerus* were, for *Homerus* himself was blind, and made voluntarie, and song *ex tempore*, that is without studie. And after his death, *Aristarchus* gathered al his makinges together, and compiled theim into twoo werkes, the one entitled *Ilias*, whiche is of the battaill and destruccion of Troie, and the other *Odissea*, of the wandring of *Vlisses*, ere he could get home to *Ithaca*, after that Troie was burned. And because those werkes wer compiled by patches, thei were called *Rhapsodie*, as ye would saie, patches or cloutes boched together.

With the Musicians also he found fault, for that about their Harpes and other musicall Instrumentes, thei would bestowe greate labour & diligence, to set the strynges in right tune, and had maners gerring quite & clene out of al good accord or frame.

17. How *Diogenes* founde faulte with the Musicians.

He reproued also the professours of the * Mathematicall sciencies, for that thei wer alwaies gazing and staring vpon the Sun, the Moone, and the Sterres, and yet could not see what thinges laie before their fete.

18. How *Diogenes* reproued the professours of the Mathematical disciplines.

* *Mathematici*, wer the professours and studentes of Geometrie, Musike Arithmetike, and Astrologie. For, these were called sciencies Mathematicall, because that where thei are learned by clene intelligence of the witte, yet thei procede of so certaine and sure principles and conclusions, that thei maie bee more certainlie and perfectlie perceiued and proued then Logike, Rhetorike, and Philosophie, or any other soche.

At the oratours also he had a saiyng, for that thei wer busie enough to speake thinges standing with right and iustice, but to put thesame in execucion, and to doe therafter, thei wer verie slacke.

19. How *Diogenes* reproued the Oratours.

The

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20. The couetuous persones he rattled and shooke vp, for that in wordes thei dispraised money, wheras in their hartes thei loued thesame of life.

How *Diogenes* ratteled & shooke vp couetous persones.

¶ For, this speciall propertee the couetous persones haue, that none aliue dooe in woordes more defie and deteste auarice, then themselfes doe.

None doe in woordes more cry out on auarice, then the couetous persons.

21. The common people also he toke vp for stumblyng, because thei praised and commended good men, principallie vpon this ground and title, for that thei wer despisers of money, and yet in the while, thei would neuer the more foloe the steppes of thesame good men, whom thei moste highlie commended: but rather foloed those persones that had the grummel seede, and mucke of the worlde, whom in woordes thei did greatlie dispraise.

How *Diogenes* checked the common people.

22. He neuer linned rahatyng of those persones, that offred sacrifice for to haue good health of bodie, and euen in the very sacrifice doyng (in that thei wer vnmeasurable raueners, and gourmaunders, and would not leaue eatyng while the beallie would hold) thei did all together against the good health of the bodie.

How *Diogenes* rahated soche persones as did sacrifice to haue bodily healthe.

Diogenes hated gluttons.

23. He saied, that he meruailled at the seruauntes, that when thei sawe their maisters deuoure meate, beyond all reason or measure, thei tooke not awaie the meate from them, allegyng that to be the waie to preserue their maisters in helth. And for bonde seruauntes, or slaues, it is more conuenient then for honest menne, to bee euer maunching and filling the gutte.

What faulte *Diogenes* found with bonde seruauntes.

It is not for honest menne to bee euer rauenyng.

¶ Thus ferre hath it been mencioned and rehearsed what persones, for what causes thesaied *Diogenes* rebuked

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buked and founde faulte withall. Now listen what sort of men he praised.

He allowed them that wer towarde wiuyng, and yet wiued not: that wer in a readinesse to saile on the sea, and yet tooke no shippe: that wer about to giue children their findyng, and yet found none at all: that addressed themselfes to entre doinges in the common weale, and yet entered not in deede: that had prepaired and framed theimselfes to be in the courte, and to liue in housholde with high states, or men of greate power, and yet came not therto.

24. What persones *Diogenes* allowed & praised.

¶ Signifiyng, that best it was from all thesaid thynges vtterly to absteine, and therefore those persones to seme wise, which hauing had earnest mocion, or prouocacion to any of thesame, had in season chaunged their myndes, for that when men are ones alredie entred in soche matters, it is not in their owne power or free libertee to alter that thei haue aduisedly resolued vpon, although it repent them of the trade or waie that thei haue chosen. Whoso hath ones married a wife is not now from thensforthe, all together his owne man: but in maner half maisterfast: whoso hath auentured to commit hymself to the sea, must of force stande in the grace of the wyndes, whither to bee conueighed or caried: whoso hath ones stepped forth, & sette in foote to take charge of a commen weale, and to haue dooynges in publique affaires, must remedylesse serue * the staige, & go through with the parte that he hath taken in hande to play, yea and though his herte would neuer so faine, yet is it as much as his life is woorthe, from a publike office of gouerning a commonweale, to retire vnto a priuate state and condicion of liuyng.

When a man hath ones entreed any greate mater, it is not in his own power, to goo backe againe, or to chaunge his purpose.

The state of maried men, of saillers on the sea, and of officers in a common weale.

* To serue the staige, is a prouerbe taken out of the Latin *Scenae seruire*, by whiche is signified, to dooe as the time will suffre, and as the presente case requireth, so eche persone to applie himselfe. *Cicero* writyng vnto *Brutus*, saieth to hym: *Tibi nunc populo & scenae, vt dicitur, seruiendum est. Nam in te non solum exercitus tui, sed omnium ciuium, ac pene gentium conuecti sunt oculi;* that is, Thou must nowe of necessite serue the people

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people and the staige (as saieth the prouerbe) For on thee are directly and wholly cast the iyen, not onely of thyne owne armie, but also of all the Citisens of Rome, yea and in maner of al nacions in the world too. So that the prouerbe maie very congruentlye bee spoken of suche persones, as haue taken in hande some high office or charge in a common weale, or els the conueighaunce and execucion of some very noble acte or matter to be doen in the face of the worlde, whiche thei must of force, either to their highe honour, praise, glory, and renoume goo through withall and finishe, or els with the greate infamie, shame, and reproche, quaill and laye all in the dust, because of the expectacion of menne in suche a case.

25. How we ought to behaue oure-selfes to oure frendes.

Diogenes hath the name to bee the aucthor and first brynger vp of this ridle also: That menne ought not to putte forthe their handes to their frendes with theire fyngers fast clynched together.

¶ Betokenyng that it is not enough if we shew our selfes lowly, gentle, & familiare to our frends, but that to thesame courtesy of behaueour, we ought, also to couple liberalitee and bountee for a compaignion. Whoso dooen gently and courteously handle and entreacte their frends, are saied proprely in Greeke δεξιοῦσθαι, that is to take by the righte hande, and courteouslie and louynglye to entreteine.

δεξιοῦσθαι

26. By what title *Diogenes* would be commended to the buiers, when be should be solde

At what tyme Diogenes beeyng taken prisoner in the Isle of Crete which is now called Candie, was broughte forthe to bee sold, vnto the cryer demaundyng wherin his chief feacte or cunnyng did stand, and by what title he should commend hym to the buyers, Marie (quoth he) saie that thou hast a feloe tomake money of, that hath the right knowelage how to rewle menne of freedome, One Xeniades a Corinthian hauyng muche meruaill at the straungnesse of the crye, approched vnto Diogenes, and demaunded whether he had perfecte skylle to doe that he professed & tooke vpon hym. And when by the communicacion of the philosophier he perceiued him to bee a man both of high wisedom, & and also of profounde learnyng, he bought hym, & had him home with him

Xeniades a *Corinthian*, bought *Diogenes* to his bondeman.

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him to his hous, and committed his children to hym for to bee taught, whiche children Diogenes tooke vnto his cure, and thesame right gentlemanlike trained both in learnyng and maners. And first and foremoste, he taught theim the liberall scienćies, and shortly after he taught theim the feacte of ridyng an horse, he taught theim to bend a bowe & to shoote in it, to whurle with a sling, and to picke or cast a darte. In the wrastleyng place, he would not suffre that their tutour (whiche hadde the cure of their bodies & health) should exercise them with peinfull labours after the maner of menne of sense, but so ferre and so muche as might bee auaillable to the roddynesse of colour, and for good healthe of the body. He founde the meanes that they shoulde learne by hearte and memorie al that euer good was out of the poetes, and other writers. In consideracion that we haue true knowlage and perfecte intelligence, onely of suche thinges as wee haue suerly enprinted and engrauen in our memory. At fewe woordes, the summe, the effecte and pith of all doctrine he drewe out for theim, compiled together by abrigemente, to the ende that bothe they might in shorter time haue a through sight in it, & also the more substanciallye for euer conteine it in their memorie. Thesame children he broke and taught howe to awayte on their parentes at home in their hous, and to be wel pleased with light meate, and such as was easie to bee gotten, and to bee contented with water to their drynke: and where others kepte their long lockes wel trymmed and decked, for an ornamente, and for the better settyng forth of their fauour & beautie, Diogenes commaunded these children to haue their heddes polled. And if at any tyme suche

Xeniades committed his sonnes, to the guiding & teaching of *Diogenes*

What thinges *Diogenes* taught the sonnes of *Xeniades*

What exercise of body *Diogenes* permitted to his young schoolares.

Diogenes his maner of teaching poetes and other autoures.

We haue perfecte knowelage of no more then is engrauen in our memorie.

Diogenes drewe out the summe of all disciplines for his scholares.

Howe *Diogenes* trained the sonnes of *Xeniades* in their maners.

Childrens diet composed or assigned by *Diogenes*.

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suche occasion chaunced, that they must goo foorth of doores, he brought theim foorth vnkembed, and vnpiked, withoute cotes, bare foote and bareleggued, and not a woord with theim Ouer & besides this, he did breake theim in the feacte of huntyng, in this behalfe followyng the guyse and custome of the Lacedemonians.

The Lacedemonians broke & exercised their children and youth in huntyng.

¶ By reason of these thinges it came to passe, that *Diogenes* had muche reuerente attendaunce dooen to him by the saied children, and that he was for their sakes highly estemed and accepted with their father *Xeniades*. Other writers tellen the tale, that the crier by the biddyng of *Diogenes* did in this maner speake his wordes. Is there any manne that is willyng or mynded to bye a maister?

27. When he sate hym downe in the sale time, he was forbidden to sit on his taille, and was charged to stand vpon his feete, for this entente (I suppose,) that the cheapman might the more easylie vieue and trie what hee bought. Tushe, (quoth Diogenes) what mater maketh that, sens that fishes, after what facion so euer they lyen, bee bought vp.

The habite of the minde is best perceiued by a mannes talkyng.

¶ Notyng the folishenesse of the common people, whiche gooyng about to bye a bondman, wil bee wise and well aware that no faulte of the bodie maie escape vnespied, and will not with like prouision and caucion serche and trye what state and case the mynde is in. And as for the habite of the mynde is moste euidentlye perceiued by a mannes communicacion and talkyng. ☞ And not by sittyng or standyng.

28. He saied that it seemed to hym a meruaillous mater, that whereas men would not bye a potte or a potteled, but wel tried with knockyng on it, or els by the tincklyng and soune therof: in biyng

The ouersight of many persones in buiyng of menne.

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biyng a manne they could be contented and satisfied with onelye lookynge on hym with theire iye.

¶ Signifiyng that a manne is by nothyng in the worlde better knowen, then by his communicacion. Therfore like as they that goo about to bye an yearthen potte, or vessell for an orkyn, dooe knocke vpon it with their knuccle, and by the soune that it geueth doe soone discerne whether it bee whole, of suche claye or metalle as it shoulde bee, and seasoned in the keil, or not: so before that they bye a man with poundes moo then one or twoo, meete it wer to prouoke the partie to speake, and to tell one tale or other, and by his talkyng to fynd out what maner feloe he is. To the selfsame purpose apperteyneth the saiynge nexte afore.

A manne is by no thing better knowen, then by his communicacion.

A fyshe is dumme and cannot speake, neyther maketh it any force howe thesame lyeth on the stalle, forasmuche as no man can make thereof anie thyng but a fyshe.

¶ Sembleably it is no matter ne difference at all, of what habite, pleight, or complexion of bodie ye bye a manne, if ye bye hym, neuer hearyng hym speake.

29. Unto Xeniades by whom he was bought, he saied: Sir, ye must remedylesse bee obediente to me, and rewled by me, although beeyng now your bondeseruaunt, in consideracion that whoso hath to his bondeseruaunt a shipmaister, or a Physician, is of force driuen to bee rewled by the same, if he bee disposed to haue any commoditee or profitable seruice of hym.

The maister ought to bee auised by his seruaunte, if he be wise.

30. The reporte gooeth, that in the hous of this same Xeniades he contynued and liued vntill he was a veraye aged manne, and was there buryed of his owne scholares. And beeyng asked by Xeniades howe his desire was to bee buried, Grouelyng, quoth he, with my face toward the grounde

How *Diogenes* desired to bee buiried.

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grounde. And to thesame Xeniades demaundyng the cause why, he said: For, ere long time to an ende, it will come to passe, that those thynges whiche now lyen downward shalbee turned vpward.

The *Macedonians* conquered all Grece, and helde the dominion of thesame in the tyme of *Diogenes*.

¶ Alludyng hereunto, that at that presente season, the *Macedonians* hadde gotten the ouer hande vpon the *Atheniens*, and had achiued the empier of al *Grece*, & of, in maner vilaynes or slaues, they wer become veraie haulte, & from veraye basse, they were mounted to high domynion. That if all thynges should so be turned vp side down, it should saunce fail come to passe that his dedde carkesse also should ere many daies after bee turned from liynge grouuleyng, to liyng with the face vpward. Percase his menyng was this, to bee no mater to bee passed on, after what maner of liyng or facion the dedde bodie be putte in the graue, about whiche mater, great was the supersticion of the moste parte of people, for they wer carried to their burial with their feete liyng forth towarde the towne gate, they were burned in maner of standyng vpright, and at this daye the Iewes (as I heare saye) are putte in theire graues as if it wer standyng on their feete, at lest wise the Christians euery one of theim without excepcion are laied in their graues with their faces vpwarde.

The maner of buiriyng in old tyme.

The Iewes are buiryed, as it wer standing on their feete, and the Christians with their faces vpward.

31. Standyng on a time in the open mercate place, he cried with a loude voice. Approche ye menne, approche ye menne, as though he had had some earnest matter to saie vnto the people. And when they had gathered veraye thicke about hym, and he for all that, ceassed not but still cryed: Approche ye menne, certain of theim. takyng greate indignacion at the mater: aunswered: Loe, here wee bee, saie thy mynd. Then Diogenes driuynge theim awaye with a staf, saied:

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saied: I bade menne to approche, and not dounge hylles or draffesackes.

Thei that liuen not accordyng to reason, but are leden by sensuall affectes and passions, are not worthie to bee called menne.

¶ He thought not the name of a manne to bee a congruente or a right name for suche persones as liued not accordyng to reason, but were leden and rewled by sensuall mocions, and pangues, after the maner of swyne and other brute beastes.

32. *Alexander* talked familiarly many thinges with *Diogenes* sitting in hys tubbe. Howe highly *Alexander* Magnus estemed the philosophicall mynde of *Diogenes*.

Alexander Magnus when he was at the citee of * Corinthus, wente vnto Diogenes sittyng in his tubbe, and talked familiarelye with hym manie thynges: from whom after that he was departed, to his familiare frendes takyng highe disdeigne and indignacion, that beeyng a kynge, he had dooen so muche honour to such a doggue as Diogenes, who would not vouchesalue so muche as ones to aryse vp from his tail to doe his duetie of humble obeysance to so greate a prince, he saied: Wel, yet for all that, wer I not Alexander, I would with all my hert bee Diogenes.

Nothing more like to a kingdom, then a true philosophicall mynde.

¶ So meruaillous highlye did he esteme, that same the mynde and herte of the same *Diogenes* constitute and beeyng in moste perfecte freedome, and ferre surmountyng the coumpace or reache of al worldlie or transitorie thynges, that he iudged nothynge to be more like to a kyngdome or Empier. The principall and chief felicitee of kyngs is, that thei ought seruice or homage to no yearthly creature, but whatsoeuer thyng standeth with their wille and pleasure, they doe and veraie easilie bryng to effecte, and secoundarily, that they feele wante of nothyng yearthly, and all this doeth philosophie more substanciallie and more assuredly performe to a manne, then doeth any empier vnto kynges. Albeeit to bee *Alexander*, *Alexander* deemed in hys opinion to bee a somewhat higher and greater pointe, then to bee a kyng.

The principall and chief felicitee of kinges. What highe commoditees redoundeth of philosophie.

To bee *Alexander*, *Alexander* thought to bee more then to be a kyng.

‡ Corynthus sometyme a right noble and a riche citee in *Achaia*, situate and lyng betwene two seas, the one called *Aegeum*, and the other Ionium, a marte towne

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towne of greate haunte. It was first builded by *Sisyphus* the sonne of *Aeolus* and called *Corcyra*. After that it was called *Ephyre*. Then was it destroied, and eftsones reedifyed by one *Corinthus* the sonne of *Orestes*, and called *Corinthus*. Then was it yet again burned and clene destroied by the *Romaines*, and finallye reedified by *Augustus* Emperour of Roome.

33. What folkes *Diogenes* thought worthie to be called feble & maimed persones.

He auouched that suche folkes as wanted theire hearyng or lacked theire sight, ought not for that respect to bee called feble and maimed persones, but such as had no scrip hangyng by their syde.

¶ He dalied with the affinitee or likenesse of twoo greeke vocables, the one, *ἀνάπηρος*, and the other *ἄπηρος*. For *ἀνάπηρος*, of the Grecians is called, a maimed persone, a creple, or one that hath lost the vse of some membre or lymme of his bodie, and *ἄπηρος*, he that is without a scryppe, suche as the poore that asken almes from doore to doore haue hangyng by their syde. Notifiyng in myne opinion, a manne to be ferre vnmeete for all good occupacions to bee doen in this life, that is voide of Philosophie. For the scryppe was for al prouision and store of vitailles that the Cynikes hadde.

ἀνάπηρος

ἄπηρος.

A man void of philosophie is fer vnmete for al good occupacions.

The Cynikes had no prouision or vitailles, but in their scrippe.

34. How *Diogenes* auenged himself on certain young menne, that had whipped and scourged him.

Hauing on a time entreed a place wher a coumpaignie of younge ruffleers were banquettyng & makyng good chere, with his polle shoren pate, he was not only nothing courteously welcomed and entreteined, but also sent away with as many stripes of whippyng and scourgeyng as his backe could beare, on which persones in this wise he auenged himself. The names of the young menne by whom he had been scourged, he regestred in a piece of paper, and so walked vp and down with his cope wyde open.

¶ The markes or scrattes of the stripes declared as plainly as if he had spoken it with his tongue, how he had been handled, and the white paper vttreed theim that had doen the dede. By this meanes he published

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published the vngentle yong feloes, to be chidden & nhated of al the world.

Because he was a Cynike, he was called doggue, & this kynde or secte of liuyng was of many persones highly praised, but yet no man would foloe thesame. Wherupon he vsed oft tymes to saie, that he was the hounde of manie that praised him, but yet that neuer a one of his praisers had the herte to goo on huntyng with the hounde that was so muche praised. 35. Vertue is praised of many, but no manne will foloe it.

A certain feloe making vaunt and bost of hymself, and saiyng; I winne euer the victorie of men in the games called *Pythia, No, it is I (quoth Diogenes) that wynne the victorie of menne, and thou, of slaues. 36. *Pythia*, wer games and plaies yerely celebrated, and holden in the honour of *Apollo*, for *Python* was a great serpent by the commaundemente & becke of Iuno (as the Poetes dooe fable) sette vpon *Apollo* to destroie him, when he was an infaunte, but *Apollo* euen in his tendre infauncie, with his bowe and aroes slewe the serpente *Python*, and therof was surnamed *Pythius*, and therof cometh *Pythia*. Of these games is afore mencioned.

¶ Ones again he dalyed with the affinitee and likenesse of the Greke woordes that is betweene ἄνδρας, men, and ἀνδράποδα, bonde slaues. And bondeslaues did he cal, whatsoeuer persons wer as subiecte and geuen vnto sensuall lustes, and desires. And these cupiditees by philosophie to ouercome, is a more honest and ioylie thyng, then in the games called *Pythia* to ouercome men.

To a certain persone auisyng him, that beeyng nowe a manne striken in age, he should repose hymself & rest from labours, What, (quoth he) if I wer rennyng in a race: whether wer it conuenient, beeyng nowe approched nigh to the gole, and to the ende of the race, to slacke my course and pace of rennyng, or els rather to streigne and enforce the same. 37. The lesse time that a man hath to liue, the more earnestly is the

¶ His iudgemente was right and true that the studie of vertue is so much the more earnestly to bee pursued,

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study of vertue to bee proceded in.

pursued, as the lesse tyme to liue doeth remaine: in consideracion, that it wer a foule shame in a mannes later daies to bee discomforted, or to haue a cold herte in prosecutyng an honest trade.

38. Beeyng on a time inuited and bidden to supper, he saied plainlye that he woulde not come. And to the partie demaundyng the cause why, he aunswered: Because I had not my thankes yesterdaie for my comyng thyther.

A philosophier deserueth high thankes, that beeynge desired he will vouchesalue to bee a geast at an other mannes table.

¶ The moste part of men requireth to haue thankes, as it were for some great benefite, if they haue had a bodie at dyner or supper with theim. But *Diogenes* (although beeyng a poore man) demed great thankes to bee duelie owyng vnto him, that he would vouchsalue and not refuse to make one at a mannes table, for that he came no whither without bearing his porcion of the shot for his repast, but did with communicacion of Philosophie muche more dentylie feede the myndes aswell of the partie that made the feast, as also of the other geastes, then thesame maker of the dyner fedde the body with good viandrie.

A philosophier, wheresoeuer he cometh paieth well for hys repast if he talke in philosophie.

39. He tooke on a tyme Demosthenes beyng at that season but a yong strepleyng, euen with the maner dinyng in a comen tauerne, and when the same Demosthenes hauing espyed Diogenes conueighed himself awaie into an inner roume of the house, So muche the ferther in (quoth he) shalt thou bee in the tauerne.

How *Diogenes* rebuked *Demosthenes* conueighyng hymselfe preuylye ferther into a tauern when he was found ther at diner in an outer roume.

¶ Signifiyng that hee was like muche the more for that to be a talkyng stocke to all the geastes in the coumpaignie, that not onely he haunted suche a place, but also had conueighed hymself priuely out of sight, as though he had been found in some matter or deede of mischief. For that was a thyng more to bee talked of, then that he was makyng good chere there. Other writers tellen, that this was spoken to a certain young manne,

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manne, not naming what he was, but thesame might bee euen Demosthenes too. As for the sense is the more plain and open, that wee take or vnderstande, that the young manne was put in remembraunce that he should auoide not ferther into suche a place, but clene out of doores. For the ferther in that he hidde himselfe secrete out of sight with in the tauerne, the more truelie he was in the tauerne.

The more secrete that a manne is in an eiuill place, the more verely is he in it.

40. How *Diogenes* shewed *Demosthenes* vnto certain straungers beyng desirous to see him.

To certain straungers beeyng veraie desirous and fain to haue a sighte of that ioylie feloe Demosthenes that had eueriewhere so greate a name, Diogenes stretchyng out his middle finger, and pointing with it: sayed: Thissame is that ioylie felowe Demosthenes the oratour of the Atheniens.

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¶ The fore fynger nexte vnto the thumbe is called in latin, *index*, as if ye should saie in English, the pointyng fynger, or the shewyng fynger, because that stretching forth thesame finger, on length wee vse to shew this, or that. And the middlemust fynger was emong menne of old tyme rekened slaundrous, for a cause at this presente not to bee rehearsed. And *Demosthenes* had in euery mannes mouthe an eiuill reporte, of misliuyng and abusing his body. Which thing *Diogenes* notifiyng, had more phansie to poincte towardes hym with the middle finger, then with the fore finger, as other folkes vsed to doe.

41. Folishe shame to no purpose.

A piece of breade had fallen from a feloe, who lefte thesame liyng on the ground, for that he was ashamed to take it vp again. Diogenes myndyng to refourme the folie of the partie, putte a corde aboute the necke of a potte, and trailled it after hym on the grounde along the Ceramicus, doyng thesame thyng in a potte, which the other felowe was eiuill ashamed to dooe in a piece of breade.

Ceramicus, was a place in *Athenes*, seruyng for the buiriall of theim that had been slaine in battaill.

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42. How *Diogenes* aunswered theim to whom he semed toto earnest a Philosophier.

Where he semed to manie folkes toto muche, and toto earnest a philosophier, he aunswered He that ther in foloed the maner of the maister chauntres that sette the kaye, or take the first parte of a song to begynne it in a quiere, who of a custome and vsage, dooen somewhat excede the righte tune that they should take to the ende, that the others maie take the due tune, that they ought to dooe.

All vertues doe consiste in the meane, betwene twoo vices.

¶ For what excedeth or passeth the meane, although it be vicious. ☞ For all vertues sayen the morall Philosophiers) doen consiste in the meane betwene two vices, as for example, liberalitee betweene nigardship and prodigalitee, true religion betwene supersticion and contempte.) yet thesame muche auailleth to stiere vp, and to quicken the slouggardie of others. Sembleablie the robe or cope, & the tubbe of *Diogenes*, did not without their greate reproche vpbraide to the riche and welthy folkes their nicitee and their delices.

43. Many are in a deper kinde of madnesse then if thei should poincte with one finger in stede of an other.

It was one of his saiynges, that no small noumbre of menne are in a deeper kynde of madnesse, then the errour of mispointyng with the finger extended vnto.

The foly of some parentes in chasticing their children.

¶ For if a bodie should still stretche oute the midlemust finger to pointe therewith in stede of the forefinger, he should echewhere be accoumpted as one out of his witte, if one putte forth the forefinger to that vse, he is thought sad and well auised. But many a thousand folkes there been, whiche dooe much more greuouslie plaie the mad menne in serious maters, then if they should put out one finger in stede of an other, and yet suche persones are not emong the people commenly taken for misauised. As euen at this present daie, the parentes dooe in their children chastice for a greuous offence if they vse the lieft hand in stede of the righte hande, but they dooe not sembleablie chastice

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tice theim, when they chose and take thyngs abhominable in stede of honest.

He taunted the folie and madnesse of men in this pointe also, that thynges precious, thei bought and solde for litle or nothyng, and thynges nothyng woorthe at very high prices, for he saied: That the porture of a man in brasse or stone, should bee bought vp with three thousand ‡pieces of coyn, where as a pecke of mele was to bee solde for twoo brasse pens. 44. The preposterous estimacion of the people in byīng & selling of thinges.

Images and porteratures of menne wer in old time bought at high prices.

¶ And yet ther nedeth no such image or porture for anie necessarie vse of mannes life, without meale there is no possibilitie of mainteinyng the life. It had therfore been conueniente that meale should bee sette at a much higher price then images of stone or brasse. The Philosophier estemed the prices of thynges by the naturall vse or necessarie occupiyng of thesame, the peuish multitude of the people estemeth it by their foolishe persuasion.

Wyse menne estemen the prices of thinges by the naturall vse of thesame.

‡ *Tribus nummum millibus.* The Frenche interpreter translateth three hundred crounes, whiche after the rate of fowertene grootes a croune, maketh the full summe of three score and tenne poundes of oure Englishe coyne.

The same tale that a litle afore we recited of Xeniades, certain writers tellen in this maner, wher as it was Diogenes that was bought, yet as though himselfe had bought Xeniades he saied vnto thesame: See that thou be obedient to my commaundements. And when the other saied again in Greke, ἄγω ποταμῶν, as ye would saie That were euen the riuer to renne vp the hylle, betokenyng the matter to goo clene arsee versee, if the seruaunte shoulde commaunde the maister: Why, quoth Diogenes, if thou beeyng in some greate sickenesse or maladie haddest bought a physician, wouldest thou not bee rewled by him prescribyng, thy diet? Wouldest thou saie to him, ἄγω ποταμῶν, The riuer renneth vp the hille? 45.

The maister ought to be ruled by the seruaunte beeyng a Philosophier.

Tranquillitee of manne.

If

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¶ If the maister beeyng eiuill diseased in his bodie, bee glad and faine to obeie the seruaunt hauyng good sight and practise in Phisike, muche more doeth it become one that is sore sicke in the mynde or soule, to bee obediente to his seruaunt, beeyng profoundlie experte in Philosophie. For what the facultee or arte of Physike performeth to the body, thesame dooeth philosophie accoumplishe to the mynde or soule. The one healeth the feuer, the other healeth the corrupte and naughtie appetites. And how much the mynde or soule is of more dignitee then the bodie, so muche the more greuous and dedlye are the diseases of the solle, then of the bodie. Laertius saieth more ouer, that *Diogenes*, when he was asked of the cryer, by what title he would bee sette out in wordes, and he had aunswered that he could skylle to rewle and to ordre men of freedome. Assone as he had espied a certain manne passyng by trimmelie decked & araied, he saied to thesame crier, Sell me to thissame felowe here, for he hath neede of a maister.

Philosophie healeth all the diseases of the mynde.

How moche the soule is better then the bodie, so moche the more greuous are the diseases of the soule than of the bodie.

Diogenes would nedes bee solde to one that had nede of a maister.

46. To one makyng suite to be receiued of Diogenes vnto his secte and discipline of philosophie, after the admission of the felowe, for to proue and trye the same, Diogenes deliuered vnto him a gammounde of bakon to carie in the strete, & commaunded him to come after him. The partie castyng awaie by reason of shame, the thing that he bare in his hand, stole priuely from him & conueighed him quite away. Within fewe daies after Diogenes by chaunce meetyng with him, laughed and saied, Thy frendship and myne, a poore gammounde of bakon hath set at twaine.

¶ Doyng to wete, that he was no meete or apte disciple for philosophie, that could not contemne and shake of folishe shame. For it is not a thyng vnhonest

Foolishe shame to no purpose.

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honest for one to carrie a gammonde of bakon in his hande, but to shrynke awaie from honestee and vertue is a thyng shamefull and abominable. *Diocles* telleth the selfsame mater, some what variyng from the wordes aboue mencioned.

To shrinke awaie from vertue, is a foule shame.

When a certain persone makyng suite to bee a disciple of Diogenes, had saied vnto hym, Maister Diogenes commaunde me to doe some seruice: To thesame receiued into his seruice, he deliuered a lumpe of chese to carrie, and when the young man for shamefastnesse, refused to beare the saide piece of chese. A litle piece of chese (quoth Diogenes) hath clene dashed the amitee and frendship of vs two.

47.

When he had espied on a time a ladde drinkyng out of the palme of his hande, he saied: This lad is in frugalitee a degree aboue me, that dooe carrie about me superfluous furniture of houshold, & forthewith toke oute of his scrippe a litte treen tankard or dishe that he vsed for his cuppe to drynk on, & thesame cast awaie from him, saiyng I knewe not that nature hadde in this behalfe also made prouision for vs. When he had seen an other boie, for asmuch as his treen saucer was broken, to take vp * peason oute of the potte with a crust of breade made holowe for that purpose, he cast awaie from him his treen potagedishe too, as a thynge superfluous.

Nature hath prouided for euery bodie all necessarie furniture of housholde stuffe.

* *Lenticula*, is a poultz, called chittes, whiche (because wee here in England haue not in vse to eate) I translate Peason.

¶ I can bee veraie well contented that these thynges bee thought worthie skorne and derision, so that wee graunt this excedyng great exaumple of simplicitee and plainnesse, to make verie well to this purpose, that wee maie bee ashamed of our superfluitees and excesses, that are vsed eche where emong vs at these daies.

The frugalitee of *Diogenes*, may shame our superfluitees and excesses.

That

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48. That to a manne sapiente nothyng is wanthyng, he concluded by this syllogisme: The Goddes are lordes of all thynges and haue all thyngs in their possession: the sapiente menne and the Goddes are mutuall frendes, either to the others, and all maner thynges that one frende hath, is commen or readie for the other also, Ergo the sapiente menne are lordes of all thynges, & haue all thynges in their possession.

A syllogisme is a perfect argument of Logike, in which, twoo thinges or mo, first put, & thesame graunted, the conclusion doth ineuitably folow of necessitee.

¶ But by the selfesame syllogisme he mighte haue been shaken of, when he desired any thyng: Why dooest thou craue, sens thou hast all thyngs already in thy possession?

How *Diogenes* concluded that a man sapient hath all things in his possession.

49. When hee had espied a woman liynge prostrate before the Goddes, hir bodye so boughed down, that behind her, some partes of thesame appered out, whiche is not comelie, ne honest to bee made bare to the iyes of menne: he went vnto her, saiynge, Art thou not afeard thou woman, lest that some God standyng behynde thy back (for all places and things of the worlde are replenished with the presence of God (thou demeane thy selfe vncomelie? He is reported to haue consecrated to Aesculapius a tormentour, who shoulde come rennynge and all to trample and crushe suche persones as would falle downe prostrate vpon their faces before Aesculapius.

Howe *Diogenes* rebuked a woman lying vncomly prostrate afore the Goddes.

Diogenes consecrated to *Aesculapius*, a Gyant with a clubbe in his hande.

¶ By this colour and false pretense causyng folkes vtterlie to renounce & abandon supersticion, which haue a beleef that the Goddes will not heare theim except they make much doukyng, stoupyng, beckyng, and prostracions vnto thesame with vncomelie gesture of their bodie.

50. He vsed veraie often in the waie of iestyng to saie, that the tragicall malediccions and cursses hadde mette with him, for that he was (accordyng

Tragicall execrations mette with *Diogenes*.

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yng to the fourme of soche maner execracions) ἀνέστιος, destitute of an house to putte his hedde in, ἄπολις, abandoned from dwellyng in any citie, ἄπατρις, as a manne banished out of his countree, πτωχὸς, constreigned to begge his breade, ἀλήτης driuen to wandre about from place to place as a vagabound, and ἡμερόβιος, not sure on the one daie, where to haue his dyner the next day foloyng.

Chiliades a noble and a right clerkely werke, made by *Erasmus*, in whiche he hath gathered certain thousandes of Greke & Latine prouerbes.

¶ This he saied, alludyng to some place of one or other of the tragedies, Of the execracions and curses of ‡ *Oedipus* I haue spoken at large in my werke of greke and latin prouerbes whiche is entitleed, Chiliades.

‡ *Oedipus* (as the fables of Poetes maken relacion) was the sonne of one *Laus*, kyng of *Thebes*: who perceiuing his quene *Iocasta* to be with childe, sued to the oracle of *Apollo*, to haue true knowlege, what childe his saied wife *Iocasta* should bring foorthe. Aunswere was made by *Apollo*, that she should bryng forthe a soonne, by whom he the saied *Laus* should be slain. In consideracion wherof, immediately: as sone as euer the childe was borne, *Laus* deliuered it vnto his shepheard, to dooe the same to death. But the shepheard moued with some compassion, would not out right kill the infant babe, but bored through either of his fete an hole, and with a twig put through the holes, houng hym vp aliue on a bough of a tree. But one *Phorbas* beeyng shepheard vnto *Polybius*, king of the *Corinthians*, finding thesaid child, bare the same to his quene: who (forasmoche as she had no children of hir own (kept and nourished the child, as if it had been of hir own bodie borne, and of the swelling of his feete, by reason of the holes he was by hir named, *Oedipus* (for οἰδεῖν in Greke is to swelle, and πούς πόδος a foote.) When this *Oedipus* was come to mannes state, a strife & debate beginning emong the *Phocensians*, the saied *Oedipus* vnawares and vnknowing, slewe his owne father *Laus* aforesaied: vpon this, it fortuned that *Sphinx* the monster, standing on an hillocke, at the citee of *Thebes*, would not suffer any bodie to passe by her, but to all soche persones as trauailed on the waie, she propounded redles and doubtfull questions, and as many as could not soile thesame redles, she killed out of hande. Then was made a decree, and vpon thesame a Proclamacion, that whosoeuer could soile the redle, whiche *Sphinx* propouned, should haue the queene *Iocasta* to wife, and should enioye the kingdome of *Thebes*. The redle that *Sphinx* propounded was this: What one and the same liuing creatur it was, that went on twoo feete, on three feete, and on fower feete: this redle *Oedipus* soiled, affirming it to bee man, who in his infancie, creping vpon his handes and feete, was fower footed, afterwarde being growen to more full yeres of youth, went vpright on twoo feete, and in age decrepite vsing a staffe, wente with three feete. *Sphinx* thus hearing, for angre and sorowe, toumbled her self hedlong doune of a greate rocke, and so perished. And *Oedipus*, according to the Statute afore made, had the quene *Iocasta* to wife, and with her the kingdome of *Thebes*. On *Iocasta* he begot twoo sonnes, the one *Polynices*, and the other named *Eteocles*. At length *Oedipus* had knowlege bothe that he had slaine his owne father, and also that he had married his owne mother.

For

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For sorowe whereof he pulled out his owne iyes, with his owne handes. And then was leden aboute blinde by his doughter *Antigone*, who saued him ones or twise, when he would wilfully haue slaine him self. Neuerthelesse, the *Thebanes* hauing sure knowlege, and due proof of all the premisses exiled and banished *Oedipus* out of their citee and countree for euer. And he departing as a banished man, accursed his sonnes *Polynices* and *Eteocles* (because thei did not in soche an extremitee aide their father) that neither of theim might enioye the enheritaunce of his croune, in the kingdom of *Thebes*, but that thei might slea either other in battaill, and neuer haue power to retourne safe into their citee, &c, with many other moste dire and bitter malediccions, whiche lighted on them, and on all the whole familie of them. For, *Polynices* and *Eteocles*, fighting hand to hande, for the succession of their fathers croune, gaue either other his deathes wounde: so that thei bothe fell doune, and died euen there, out of hand. *Iocasta* their mother slue her self. And *Oedipus* was with a flash of lightning, sodainly striken to death, and of this notable plague the malediccions of *Oedipus*, are in a prouerbiall speaking, taken for notable greate misfortunes, and eiuill chaunces, soche as *Diogenes* here in this present, his *Apophthegme* doeth mencion: and Erasmus in thesaid Chiliades, doeth more at large recite.

51. How *Diogenes* matched fortune, lawe and affeccions.

Ferthermore, he is reported to haue vsed this saiyng also, that to matche against fortune, he sette alwaies the confidence or stoutnesse of courage: against the lawe, he set nature: against affeccions, mocions, or wilfull pangues of the minde, reason.

Whereby is purchaced and mainteined the tranquilitee of menne.

¶ For that by these three thinges is purchaced and mainteined, the tranquilitee of men. Against the bloustreyng stormes and rages of fortune, a strong hart, beyng voide of all maner feare, is to a sapient manne a sure bucler and defense: in stede of a lawe, the wiseman foloweth nature, to the whiche nature if the lawe be repugnaunt, he despiseth the lawe. And with reason he caulmeth, asswageth, and kepeth doune, the troubleous assautes of desires, and affeccions inordinate.

52. *Craneum* (e long) was a place of exercise in the citie of *Corinthus*.

When Alexander Magnus came to see Diogenes, he chaunced to finde him in the place that was called Craneum, sitting in his tubbe, & patching together with glewe or past, the toren leues of his bookes. And after that the king hauing familiarly talked many things with him, addressed him self to depart, & said: Bethink thyself Diogenes, what thou woldest moste faine aske

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aske of me, for whatsoeuer thou shalt desire or wishe, thou shalt assuredly haue, Well (quoth Diogenes) of other thinges we shall talke anone at leasure, in the meane time stand aside from me a litle out the way. When the king had gone back from him, supposing that the other was minded to consider with him selfe what he might best aske: to thesame, of a prety while speaking not a worde, he repeted his former wordes, and ones again said: Aske what thing thy mind and will is Diogenes. Mary euen this same was my will and desire to haue, quoth he again, for before, thou diddest keepe away from me the Sunne, being moste requisite and necessary for this busines or occupation that I am about now. ¶ Other writers tellen, that he said thus: Do not make shadowe betwene the Sunne and me. ¶ For that he was disposed to sunne him selfe.

Howe *Diogenes* vsed the kinge, *Alexander* the great, inuiting him to aske of him what gift he would.

This also is recorded in writing, that Alexander spake vnto him after this sort: I am come hether Diogenes, to succour & to relieue thee, because I see thee to be in great penurie and nede of many thinges. To whome Diogenes aunswered thus againe. Whether of vs two is in more penurie, I, that besides my scrip and my cope, doe misse ne desire nothing at all, or els thou, which not being contented with the inheritaunce of thy fathers kingdom, doest put thy selfe in auenture, and hasarde of so many perils and daungers, to enlarge the limites of thine Empire, in so much, that vneth all the whole worlde semeth able to satisfie thy couetous desire? 53.

Diogenes auouched himself to be richer then *Alexander* the great.

The insaciable mynde of *Alexander*, to haue Empier.

On a certain time when Diogenes had ben reading of a lecture a very great while together, was at last come so farre that he sawe a voide 54.

page

page of a leafe: Be of good comforte maisters (quoth he) I haue espied lande.

¶ Making resemblaunce to a company of men being weried with long sailing, who are well refreshed in their hartes, when the porte or hauen afarre of appeareth vnto theim.

55. To one by sophisticall insolubles concludyng and prouing, that Diogenes had hornes, feling and handling his forehead & his temples. In feith (quoth Diogenes) but I se ne fele none.

Vain sophistications, are rather to be skorned, then to bee soiled.

¶ He thought better to laugh soch a peuish trifling argument to scorne, then to soyle it.

56. When Zenon reading a lecture in the scholes, laboured with most subtile & most craftie reasons to proue that neither was there, ne possiblie might be, any mouing. ☞ (In which mouing dependeth a great portion of the verities, concluded in naturall phylosophie.) Diogenes arising vp out of his place, begonne to walk vp & down, Zenon marueiling therat, said: Why, what doest thou now Diogenes? Marie (quoth he) I falsifie & confute thy blind reasons.

Howe *Diogenes* confuted Zeno, labouryng to proue that mouing is a thing vnpossible.

¶ Rebuking al vnder one, the vaine bragge & ostentacion that *Zenon* made of his witte.

57. A certain Sophist, willing in the presence of Diogenes, to shewe the quicknesse of his witte, made a sophisticall argument vnto him, in maner and forme as foloeth. That I am, thou art not: when Diogenes had therunto graunted: And I am a man, (quoth the other) Ergo, thou arte not a man. Then said Diogenes: Let the first member of thy syllogisme begin of me, and the conclusion of thine argument shall assuredly be right and true.

How *Diogenes* mocked a Sophist, arguyng him to be no manne.

Euery perfecte syllogism, hath three partes or membres, as, that I am thou art

He

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¶ He would not vouchesafe to discusse what default and errour was in the argument, but thought better to geue a mock to the felowe that stode so highly in his own conceipt, for the respect of soch trifling baggage. If his minor had ben this, Thou art a man, then after *Diogenes* his sentence, the conclusion had ben good, for it had folowed that the Sophist was no man.

not, the *maior*: but I am a man, the *minor*: *ergo*, thou art not a man, the conclusion.

58. How *Diogenes* mocked a feloe that made muche pratleing in astronomie.

To one for the ostentacion of his wit, busely pratling and making many gaye good morowes of the skie, and the sterres: I pray you good sir (quoth Diogenes) how long since, came ye down from heauen?

¶ In this he represented *Socrates*, whose saiyng was, soch thinges as are aboue our reache, to be no part of our playe to medle withall.

Aboue in the xxiii, saiyng of *Socrates*.

59. *Ennuchus*, is a gelded man.

A certain Ennuch, being in sore infamie and slaunder of vicious and vnthriftie liuing, had written vpon the doore of his house, no euill thinge motte there enter here. Diogenes the same inscription espiyng, saide: The owner of the house for his owne parte, what waye doth he vse to goe in?

¶ The *Ennuch* had set vp that title as a poysee, or a woorde of good lucke, that no misaduenture might light on the house, and the same did *Diogenes* wrest and transferre to the vices of the mynde, whiche onely are in very dede euill thinges.

The vices of the minde onely, are in deede euill thynges.

60. *Diogenes* enointed his feete with perfume, wher others ennointen their heddes.

Diogenes hauing gotten perfume, rubbed and enointed his feete therewith, contrarie to the common vsage of all other folkes. And to soche persones as made a great wondring therat, he saide: Thus I doe because that perfume being powred vpon the head, reketh out into the aire: but from the feete it ascendeth vp to the nasetrelles.

Semblably

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Menne should weare sweete flowers in their bosome, rather then in their cappe.

¶ Semblably did an other persone disalowe & disprayse the commen vsage, by which men set garlandes of swete herbes & floures vpon their heads, where as it is more conuenient to put the same benethe the nasetrelles, for that the vapour and aire of the redolent sauour, dothe not of his propertee so much descende & soke downward, as it doth mount and ascende vpwarde.

61. The priestes, or ministers (of soche diuine rites, sacres and misteries, as in the gentilitee of that time were vsed in Athenes) would haue persuaded Diogenes, and haue brought him in minde, to take ordres, and to be a minister of the temple among theim, alleging, that soch as in their life time had bene within holy ordres, had highest preeminence among the dead. To the which aduertisement, Diogenes thus replied. That is a mad rekening, saith he, as euer I heard, if the valiaunt Captaines Agesilaus & Epaminondas, because they were neuer priestes, be liyng in the backhous ditche, and Patetion that theefe, with all the rable of other like spittle vilaines, for this onely respect that they ben within ordres, shall sit in God almightie his own lappe.

Howe *Diogenes* replied to the *Atheniens*, auysyng him to be a preste or a minister of their holie rites.

Agesilaus, a noble & a victorius kyng of the *Lacedemonians*, & *Epaminondas* a right valiaunt capitain of the *Thebanes*.

¶ It was a sore checke geuen to the facions of the priestes, who for their emolument, lucre, and auantage, did flatter, & with faire promises feede the supersticion of the blind and ignoraunt people, bringing thesame in ful beleefe that taking ordres, or professing religion, should conferre eternall blisse after this present life, whereas thesame felicitee is ordeined and prepared only for those, that by godly and noble doings haue deserued it, whether they be men of the church & within holy orders, or not.

The blisse of heauen is not conferred for the respecte of this ordre, or that, but for good liuyng.

62. At his first entreyng into his philosophicall profession or trade, when he in his tubbe eatyng drie

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drie and mustie breade, all solitarie without the coumpaignie of anie creature, heard al the whole citee whoughtyng and shoughtynge eueriewhere with ioye and solace, (for it was a feaste daie of high solemnitee and pastyme) he feeled in his herte no small tediousnesse, and a good preatie while it ranne so in his hedde, that he was more then half mynded, to geue ouer the trade of liuyng, whiche he was entreed into. But when at last, he sawe mice come crepyng about his tubbe, and eating vp the crummes of bread, he saied to himselfe, Why art thou out of conceipt with thyself Diogenes? thou arte a greate estate out right, and kepest a royall porte, loe, thou kepeste a table for smelfeastes too, that are gladde, to seke their dyner with the.

Howe *Diogenes* being more then halfe mynded to geue ouer the Philosophicall trade that he had entred into, was staied.

To Plato for the respecte of his slouenrie and beggerlinesse of liuynge, callinge him curre and dogge: Yea marie (quoth Diogenes) ye say sothe, for I am come renning home again to theim that solde me away. 63.

Diogenes tooke in good parte to be called dogge.

¶ For it is the guise and maner of doggues, if they bee solde, to renne home againe to their olde maisters. He was nothyng offended with the opprobrious worde, but rather to his own purpose interpreted thesame. In sailyng towards *Aegina* he was before his arriuall, taken prisoner of certain pirates, & so brought into the Isle of *Crete*, and there solde. Those pirates (I thynke) wer *Corinthians*, or *Atheniens*, or at lestwise *Aeginetes*.

Crete, is the same Isle, that we call *Candie*, of whiche wee haue noted in another place.

When certain persones had demaunded on hym as he was comyng homeward from the hotte baine hous, whether there were at thesame, many men, No verelie, saied he. And beeyng eftsones asked whether there wer at the said stew much presse of folke, Yea, by the rood is there (quoth he.) 64.

The appellacion of a man is fit, but for few.

Notifiyng,

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¶ Notifiyng, that to be called a man, is a fitte name, but for a fewe.

65. This also goeth in a tale, albeit vneth beleuable. Plato had thus diffined a man: A man is a liue thyng with twoo feete, hauyng no fethers. And when the scholares of Plato hadde made signes and tokens of well allowyng thesame diffinicion, Diogenes brought forth into the schole, a cocke pulled naked oute of all his fethers, bothe great and small, saiyng: Loe, here is Plato his manne.

This diffinicion of a man *Aristotle* also in his Logike dooeth improue.

How *Diogenes* improued the diffinicion of a manne whiche Plato gaue.

¶ Whereupon it was added to the diffinicion, hauyng brode nailles, for that no byrdes haue anie suche.

66. To one demaundyng at what houre best were, for a man to go to his diner: If he be rich (quoth Diogenes) when his pleasure is, if poore, when he maie.

At what hower it is beste for a man to dyne.

67. Being at Megara, when he sawe the Rammes goo with their wulle on their backes, vnshorne for takyng harme of the bitternesse of colde, and their young children go clene naked without any clothes at all, he saied: It is muche better to be the Ram, then to be the sonne of a Megarian.

Megara was a toun in the countree of *Attica*, not ferre from the citee of *Athenes*.

The *Megarians* were rechelesse in keping their children.

¶ It is writen of the *Megarians*, that thei wer wondreful recheles in nourishyng and kepyng vp their children.

68. A feloe carriyng a long loggue in the streete, gaue Diogenes a good rappe with the one ende of it, for lack of takyng hede, and incontinente (as the guise is in suche case) saied: Beware: Why, (quoth Diogenes) doest thou entend to geue me an other rap yet? Other writers do thus tell it. When the feloe saied: Beware, Diogenes rapped his staffe on the pate of the other feloe, and after the stroke alreddie surelie sette on and past, sayd as thesame had don afore to him, Beware.

It is ouerlate to to bid beware, when the hurte is doen alredy.

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¶ Geuyng vnto thesame taunt pour taunte, or one for an other. For, beware, shoulde haue been saied before the harme doyng, and not after.

Diogenes on a time, bearynge in his hande a lighted candle, walked vp & down the mercate stede, in a verie brighte and clere daie, like one that soughte a thynge lost. And diuerse persones askyng, what hee didde: Marie I seeke a manne (quoth he.) 69.

A man is a rare thyng to bee founde, though he be sought with a candle.

¶ Notyng the publique maners of the cittee scace honest enough for anie persone, bearyng the name of a manne.

When he had on a time been so souced with water, that he had neuer a drie thred about him, and stood droppyng on euerie syde and parte of his bodie, diuerse persones standyng about him (as commenly in suche case they will) toke muche pitie on the poore soule, as one that had been serued a verie vngodlie touche, and vsed or handled out of all good facion. To whiche persones, If ye bee willyng, saieth Plato, (for he also emong others was happelie at thesame time presente) to take pitie and compassion vpon Diogenes, departe hens and gette you from him. 70.

¶ Notyng in him beeyng a Philosophier, desirefulnesse of glorie. Forasmuche as therefore to be vnto the bystanders suche a wondreyng and gazyng stocke was to *Diogenes* great pleasure and delectacion: he was rather happie and fortunate, then to bee pitied, but if he had been wetted from top to toe, no man standyng by to see it, then had he been miserable in verie deede.

Priue ambition and desire of glorie in *Diogenes.*

To one that gaue him a good cuffe on the eare, In good south (quoth he) I had no such knowledge ne warnyng to goe with a salette on my hedde. 71.

The pacience & moderation of *Diogenes.*

And

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¶ And that was all that euer he did to be auenged on the partie that had striken him.

72. Howe *Diogenes* requited one *Midias* geuing him a blow on the eare.

But he didde not with sembleable pacience forbeare one Midias, who after a good whistersnefet, truelie paied on his eare, had saied: There bee three thousand brasse pens now readie assigned and laied out for thee in the eschequier: in the waie of mockage, biddyng much good do it him, for that he was assured to recouer of Midias so muche money for a forfaicte, if hee would take the law for the blowe geuing, But Diogenes the nexte daye followyng tooke a brode thongue, suche as the champions vsed of neates leather, set with studdes and bosses, and thesame well fauouredlie bestowed about the ribbes and pate of Midias, he saied euen in the verye same wise, as the other had dooen afore to him: There be three thousande brasse pens nowe readie assigned and laied oute for thee in the eschequier.

The penaltee or forfaicte, for geuing a blow in the old time at *Athenes*.

¶ *Aulus Gelius*, telleth of a feloe which had a good sport to geue men buffettes with his hande, and immediatelie after, woulde commaunde to be tolde oute in readie monye the summe of the forfaicte, oute of a purse, whiche he had continuallie carried about with him for that purpose. But *Diogenes* plainlie declared, not al men to be of that pacience, that they can be satisfied, and holde theim contented with the penaltee of the sette forfaicte.

73. Howe *Diogenes* aunswered *Lysias*, demaunding whether he beleued any goddes to be.

The Philosophiers had in this behalf, a verie euill name abrode, that either thei beleued not any goddes to bee, or els thei did contemne thesame. This thing Lysias half signifiyng, asked Diogenes, whether he beleued that there were any Goddes. To whome Diogenes aunswered: Howe may it stande with reason that I shoulde not beleue, yes; sens I am fully persuaded that thyselfe

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thyselfe arte a feloe of the Goddes abandoned and accursed?

Lysias was an oratour in *Athenes*, whome for his exceeding swetenes *Quintilian* praiseth.

¶ This saiynge some writers doen attribute to *Theodorus*. He made none aunswere to the question, but reuersed the woordes to the parties selfe, that had in the waie of despite put the question to him.

74.

Espiyng a feloe for the obseruaunce of religion, washyng himself with riuer water, (for by this rite did men of olde time vse to purifie and clense theimselfes, if thei beleued any offence on their partie against the Goddes to haue been committed) Miserable creature, saied Diogenes, when thou hast erred in any pointe of grammer, thou art not assoyled by castyng water vpon thyselfe: then muche lesse shall sembleable sprincleyng of water ridde or deliuer thee from synfulnesse of liuyng.

Howe *Diogenes* eluded a feloe sprincling water vpon hym selfe for pourging his sinne.

¶ He did verie well note the supersticion of folkes, in that they beleued the spottes and stainyng of the soule to be pourged and scoured awaie, with the sensible, grosse or carnall elemente of bodilie water, except they had also cut awaie the inordinate lustes and desires of the herte.

The supersticion of folkes in old time.

75.

He did wonderous highly rebuke those persones, who, if any of their maters framed not, but wente a wrie, would blame and wyte fortune therfore (as in deede the moste parte of men vsen to doe, and Diogenes auouched the parties selfes muche more worthie to be shent, whose guise and facion was, with all earnest requeste and instaunce to craue at the handes of ladie fortune, not suche thyngs as in very deede were substanciall good, but such as in their owne phansie and opinion seemed good.

Diogenes rebuked those persones, who blamed fortune when their matters went awry.

¶ For if men would permit or leaue to the arbitrement, wille and pleasure of the Goddes, to sende suche

If God might be let alone, he

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would sende to man that were best for him.

thynges, as thesame dooe iudge to be best and moste expediente, they woulde sende it. Now, forasmuche as men receiuen accordyng to their own most eagre and importune suites, thei doen like feloes hauynge no shame in theim, to laie vnto the Goddes the fault of quaillyng and misprouyng.

76. The supersticion of suche persones as would be fraid with dreames, in this maner did he deride and skorne, What things ye doe while ye are awakyng, saieth he, that care ye not for, and what thynges ye dreame while ye are slepyng, ye doe carefully searche out.

The superstition of many folkes about their dreames

¶ For to the felicitee, or miserie of a manne, it maketh not so greate force, what cometh to thesame in his slepe, as what he doth awakyng, while one is awakyng, if he perpetrate any vnhonest or sinfull act, it wer requisite to feare the wrathe of God, and the wofull ende to ensue thereof, and not if menne see this or that, in their slepe.

77. At the Olympia, the crier thus proclamyng, Doxippus hath wonne the maisterie of menne, Diogenes corrected him, sayng: No Doxippus of slaues or vilaines, and I of men.

The bondseruantes of glory.

¶ Signifiynge, theim that proued maisteries at the saied *Olympia* and other like games, not to bee men, but bondeseruauntes of glorie, onely the Philosophier & none els hath the ouerhande of men: like vnto this, is one other of his saiyngs aboue mencioned.

The Philosophier only hath victorie of men.

78. When Philippus had an armie in the contree of Cherronea, ther to make warre, thither came Diogenes, and beyng taken by the souldiours, he was brought vnto the kyng, who, when he sawe Diogenes a persone vnknowen, cried out in a great furie, A spye, a spye. To whome Diogenes replied, saiyng: Yea, euen a verie spye in deede. For hither am I come to vieue the brainsiknesse of

This *Philippus* was king of the *Macedonians*, & father of *Alexander* the great.

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of thee, who, not beyng contented with the kyngdom of the Macedonians, for to gette other mennes kyngdomes, into thy handes, doest cast thyselfe in great perill and daunger of leesyng bothe thyne owne kyngdome and also thy life. The king maruailing, at the franke plainnesse of the man, discharged thesame, and sette him at large, biddyng him goo where he would at his free libertee.

Howe *Diogenes* aunswered *Philippus*, challenging him for a spye.

* *Cherronea*, the countree where Plutarchus was borne, a region nighe to Hellespontus. And in this place did Philippus conquiere and subdue all *Grece*. It is called by an other name *Chersonesus*, because it is in maner round about enuironed with the sea, and is by reason therof in maner a verie Isle. And for the excellencie, it is ofte tymes sette for *Hellespontus*.

Alexander the king of the Macedonians had sent letters vnto Antipater by a certain persone named Athlias, Diogenes at the same houre being happely in place. Who, accordyng to his Cynicall guise, saied: Athlius from Athlius by Athlias to Athlius. 79.

¶ It was nothing but a toye, in daliyng, with the affinitee and similitude of wordes. For the name of the messager was, ἀθλίας, with .a. and ἄθλιος in Greke souneth one being in miserable state or condition, & sore vexed or beaten with manifolde trauailes, peines and troubles. For whiche respecte the fighting men or the champions and maisters of sense, had their name deriued out of thesame vocable, and were called both in Greke and Latin *Athletae*. The meaning of the Philosophier was, that princes for the ambition of honour, rule and dominion, being in continuall strife, and hurlee burlee, are in very deede persons full of miserie and wo: and euen in like miserable state of wretchednesse to be all those that are ready, prest, and willing seruauntes, aiders or furtheres of the appetites & desires of thesame.

Athletae.

Princes which for ambition of honour rule & dominion ar in continual strife be in miserable state, and ful of woe.

☞ So then true it was, that *Alexander* for the careful and troublous life that he leed worthely called *Athlius* that is miserable, wrote and sent letters by *Athlias*, being no lesse worthy the appellation

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lation of *Athlius* then his maister, vnto *Antipater* as much worthy to be called *Athlius* as any of the other two, in that he was at al times bounde to obeye and serue *Alexander*.

80. *Diogenes* refused to goe to *Alexander*.

Being spoken to, and inuited to come vnto Alexander, he refused so to doe. But to Perdicca the high Capitain, or graund maister vnder the same Alexander threatning to take his life from him, excepte he would come. In feith, said Diogenes, then shall ye doe a noble & a valiaunt acte. For as well the litle worme whiche (bothe in Greke & Latin) is called Cantharis as also the blacke spider called Phalangium, is able at all times to do as muche.

Perdicca, graund maister vnder *Alexander*.

Cantharis.

Phalangium.

¶ *Cantharis* is a litle litle vermin, not much vnlike in facion to the beetle or the hornet, but hauing in it starke poyson. *Phalangium* is the spider of the most venemous sorte. Neither did he sticke or feare, on his partie again to threaten *Perdicca*, that he shoulde liue happely, though he liued without his company, notifiyng theim to be in a very wretched case or state, that liued with *Perdicca*.

81. The life of man standeth not in carnal pleasure nor in sensualitee.

He affirmed the Goddes to bee gentle and sone entreated to geue life vnto men, but thesame life to be a thing vnknowen to suche persones as seeke to haue of these marchpaines or wafers with other like iunkerie, and their swete perfumes or pomaundres, and other semblable delices.

Onely perfecte vertue geueth to man veray true life indede.

¶ For those persones who haue al the pleasure of the said thinges beleuen theimselues to liue, where as onely wisdome and perfect vertue doth assure the very true life in dede replenished with tranquilitee and pleasaunt sweetnesse. Wherfore not the Goddes are to be put in faulte, but man, who of his owne mere foly doth earnestly craue of the said Goddes, not life, but sensuall pleasures of the fleshe.

The preposterous praiers of carnal persons.

82. Espiyng a delicate and nyce feloe, to haue his shoes put on and buccled by his seruaunte. Nay in

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in feith (quoth he) thou lackest yet one pointe or degree of perfecte blisse, which is, that thesame feloe ther wype thy tayle to. And that should soone bee if thy hande or fyngers were cut of.

¶ It semed to *Diogenes* a thing as much contrary to reason to abuse the Page his seruice in doing on his maisters shoes, in case the maister be strong and lusty enough to helpe himselfe therein, as if he shoulde after comming from the iakes, put his seruaunt to the office of wyping his taile. Albeit, it may be also vnderstanded of wyping the nose. To an Ethnike Philosophier, it semed nicitee, beyonde the course of nature, that an Ethnike or Gentile should haue his shoes doen on by his seruaunte. And yet I knew a Christian man, being a priest, yea and a Diuine, who although he hadde al his limmes perfect, and none of his membres maymed or lame, yet euer when he should goe to the stoole, would call seruauntes mo then one, for to vntie his pointes: and also, when he came from thence, to trusse the same againe. Whiche thing when I sawe, thus did I thinke with my selfe. Now would Christ that *Diogenes* were here present, to behold this geare.

Diogenes thoughte it a thing vnnatural, that the seruaunt should pull on the maisters shoes

When he sawe a feloe going to prison that had embesled and conueied awaye a cup of golde out of the treasurie or chaumbre of the citee. (And so it chaunced that he was led to prison by the officers of the citee which they called in Greke ☞ *ἱερομνήμονας*:) See, see (quoth Diogenes) the graund theues leden the petie theef to ward. 83.

The graunde theues leden the petee theef to pryson, sayde *Diogenes*.

¶ Would God this same word might not be without a lye saide of some publique officers of Christentee, by whome sometimes is trussed vp, and hanged on the galoes a poore sely soule, that hath percase pielfed away tenne grotes, where theimselfes by great pielage, brybrie, or extorcion, yea and for a faire touch, by deceiuing & beguiling their prince or the commen weale

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weale, do growe daily and encrease in welth and richesse no manne saying blacke is their eyen.

☞ In the olde time there was of an auncient custome in Greece at certain seasons a commen assemblee, of certain the most sage and prudent persones, by election appointed thereunto, out of al the chief cities, after a much like sorte, as nowe here in Englande are chosen knightes for eche shier, and bourgeoisses for euery toune, and by a commen consent assigned at times requisite, to repaire vnto the parliament. And it was called in Greke Αμφικτυονικὸν συνέδριον, of the latines, *Amphictionicus consessus*, the sitting of the *Amphictions*, or *Conuentus Amphictyonum*, the assemblee of the *Amphictyons*, or *Amphictyonicum consilium*, the counsail or parliament of the *Amphictyons*, or els, *Consilium Amphictyonum*, the conuocation of the *Amphictyons*. Some writers holden opinion, that the name of *Amphictyons* was geuen vnto it of coming or resorting out from all citees & townes of Grece to the said parliamente (for the borderers, or bounders, inhabiting round about any place are called in Greke Αμφικτύονες) and some authors deriuen the name from *Amphictyon*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, who in time of his raigne here is chronicled to haue called together a counsaill or parliament of the nacions of Grece, and by a commen ordinaunce enacted to haue instituted the saied maner and forme of assembling. The people of Grece, whiche repaired to the said counsaill are numbred twelue: the *Ionianz*, the *Dorianz*, the *Perrebianz*, the *Boetianz*, the *Medonites*, the *Achaeans*, the *Phthiotes*, the *Melians*, the *Dolopians*, the *Aeneans*, the *Delphians*, and the *Phocensians*. And the bourgeoisses, that were by publique autoritee chosen, appointed, and sent from any of the countrees aboue named vnto the said counsaill, were called ἱερομνήμονες, and by an other name πυλαγόραι, of, πυλαία, the place where the parliament was holden.

84. Beholding a lad hurling stones at a gibet, Well doen (quoth Diogenes) thou wilte surely hit the marke: ¶ Signifiyng that a day would come when the partie should surely bee hanged.

85. When a sorte of young streplinges standing about Diogenes had cried vpon him, Dogge, dogge, dogge, and immediatly beyng afraied, had begon to ren awaie, and beyng asked why thei ran awaie, had said, Lest thou shuldest bite vs, Bee of good chere my sonnes (quoth he) a dogge eateth no *beetes.

*Beetes is an herbe called in greke βλίτος in latin *Beta*,

¶ Couertly and by a priuie nippe, vpraidyng them of maners effeminate, wanton, and foolish.

of whose exceding werishnes & vnsauerines, euen of old antiquitee dawcockes, lowtes, cockescombes & blockhedded fooles, were in a prouerbial speaking said: *Betizare*, to be as werishe & as vnsauery as Beetes. *Plautus* in his comedie entitled *Truculentus*, saith: *Blitea est meretrix*, it is a pekish whore, & as we say in english, As wise as a gooce, or as wise as her mothers aperen string. So a feloe that hath in him no witte, no quickenesse, but is euen as one hauing neither life ne soule, *Laberius* calleth *Bliteam belluam*, a beast made of Beetes. And in *Menandes*

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endes also (as citeth *Erasmus* in the prouerbe *Betizare*,) the husbandes reuile their wyues, calling theim *Bliteas*, of so smal shifte or helpe, that they were as good to haue wiues of Beetes, for which we saye in our Englishe prouerbe, wiues of cloutes. And because all effeminate persones doen in fine growe to semblable folishnesse & dotage, as if they were not maisters of their owne witte, but as persones rapt into another worlde, *Diogenes* tooke occasion of comparing and resemblyng the boyes (in whome was no likelyhode ne sparke of good towardnesse, but rather of al vngraciousnesse) to the werishe and vnsauerie beetes.

To a feloe that tooke himselfe for no small foole, because he ietted about the streates with a Lions skinne on his back, Diogenes sayd. Thou feloe, wilt thou neuer leue putting the mantell or gaberdine of manhode and prowesse to shame? 86. How *Diogenes* scorned a feloe, that being but a shepe, ietting vp and downe in a Lions skin.

¶ He thought it a full vncomely thing, that a persone effeminate (and soche a sheepe that durst not shew his face among men, but was more like to crepe into a benche hole, then to doe any manly acte) would vsurpe the wearing of the wede of ‡ Hercules. The selfsame may be saide to those persones that with monstruous disguising of their vesture professen holinesse, their maner of liuing being nothing aunswerable to the same.

‡ *Hercules* was the sonne of *Iupiter*, gotten in the citee of *Thebes* vpon quene *Alcumena* the wife of *Amphitruo*, while he was from home in battaill. *Hercules* was a man of singular manhode and prowesse, and did in his time .xii. notable valiaunt actes, of whiche one was, that he slewe a fierse Lion in the forest of *Nemea*, and wore the skinne of the same as a thing wonne by strong hand, and in that wede or habite, he is set out in all imagerie or pictures of hanginges or peinted clothes.

When certaine companie had great communication of Callisthenes the Philosophier, that he was happie, fortunate, and euen in heauen, for that he was in the court of king Alexander with much high fare & preparation enterteined. No Marie (quoth Diogenes) he is in wretched case, and in miserable condition, for that he must be fain to take his dyner and his supper when pleaseth Alexander. 87. *Diogenes* thought not theim moste blissed that liued in kinges courtes.

¶ Meaning, nothing to be in the state of perfect blisse, if libertee be awaye. This is *Calisthenes* the disciple of *Aristotle*, whome *Alexander* at last did cast

Nothing is in the state of perfect blisse if libertee be away.

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cast in prison, where he peryshed and died. Some wryters for *Callisthenes*, doe put *Aristotle* him selfe, of whose singular good fortune and happe, when companie made much talking, for that he liued familiarly with a kynges sonne: Yea (quoth *Diogenes*) *Aristotle* dineth at soche hour as pleaseth *Alexander*, and *Diogenes*, when pleaseth *Diogenes*.

Callisthenes the disciple of *Aristotle*, at length cast in pryson by *Alexander*.

88. If Diogenes, at any time stode in great nede of money, he woulde take it of his frendes. But to soch persons as with many checking wordes did (as ye would saye baite him) for that contrary to the dignitee and honestee of a Philosophier, he woulde after the maner of beggers aske & craue. No, quoth he, I doe not aske their almes, but I require my dutie.

οὐκ αἰτῶ, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτῶ.

¶ For the Latin woorde *Repetere*, is vsed in his propre signification, when we demaunde or require to haue rendred or redeliuered vnto vs any thing, whiche either by the way of lone, or els by leauing it in the custody or keping of an other persone is out of our owne handes. And one frende geuing to an other that is in necessitee, doth not geue a free gift, but rendreth or paieth home againe that he owghed by true debte. For whosoeuer in soche a case doeth kepe or restrain his money, thesame doth wrongfully deteine and withholde that is none of his owne propre goodes, but due to an other body.

Repetere. A Philosophier doth not begge but requireth his own dutie.

Whoso restreineth & kepeth from his frend in time of necessitee, withholdeth that is none of his owne.

89. When a certaine young man being kembed, piked, & decked all of the mynion tricke, had moued and put forth a fonde or peuishe question to Diogenes, Certes, quoth he, I will make you no answere to your question, till by taking vp or doing abroode your clothes, ye shall haue shewed, whether ye be a man, or a woman.

¶ By his apparell and araye, nothing fitte ne comely for a man, he noted the effeminate wantonesse and nicitee of the partie.

Ouer curious apparell, argueth wantonesse and nicitee.

To

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To an other young man feactely and trickely representing at the baines, a certaine lasciuious playe, whiche to exhibite the Grekes callen ☞ κοτταβίζειν: Sirrha, young manne, quoth Diogenes, the better ye doe, the worse it is.

☞ κοττάβισις, was a foolishe game that louers had and vsed to play at dyners, suppers and other banquettes, by the bobleyng that the drinke made, whiche remained in the cuppe after they had dronken, for the drinke that was left, they would cast vp on high, and by the clocking, plashing, or soune that it gaue in the fall, they would take a signification whether their louers were true to them or not. And thereof κοταβίζειν, to playe that kinde of playe.

¶ Utterly disalowing & condemning the feate whiche of it self was vnhonest and naught, of which sorte is also plaiyng at dice, wherein the more cunninge werkeman that euery persone is, the wurse man is he and the lesse honest.

As it fortuned Diogenes to be present, and to make one among the moo at a dyner, the companie calling him doggue, cast bones to him in derision, in consideration that thesame is a thing customably vsed to be doen to doggues. But he in departing from the company, pissed vppon euery of the geastes that sate at the table, behind at their backes, signifiyng thesame also to be one other propertee belonging to doggues. 91.

Howe *Diogenes* serued a certain company that cast bones to him, as if he had ben a dog.

The oratours and other persones, doyng all thinges for glorie and renoume, Diogenes called by a worde that might be taken in a double sense, τρισανθρώπους, thrise double menne. 92.

τρισάνθρωποι Oratours and other persones doing all thinges for glorie *Diogenes* called thrise double men.

¶ For, as the common sort of people denieth that persone to bee a man, that is neither learned, nor yet of gentle condicions, so did the Philosophier call hym a miser, that had no qualitee aboue the common rate of man. For according to the saiyng of *Homere*: No liuing creature is more miserable then man. And therfore, thrise double men, *Diogenes* called thrise double misers, as the which bestowed and applied all their studies vpon a thing of most vanitee in the world, and were as bounde seruauntes or Pages to the multitude

Man of al creatures most miser.

The people, a

beast of many heads.

tude of the grosse people, being a beaste of many heades.

93. Riche persones voide of learning, *Diogenes* called sheepe with golden flyces.

A certain riche man, hauing no maner knowledge nor learning at all, and yet going in gorgeous and gallaunt apparel, he called in greke, χρυσόμηλον that is: a shepe with a golden flyce.

¶ For in the Poetes it is founde written, that *soche maner shepe haue been. And those persones, who were sely poore soules, and had no more store of witte then they must nedes occupie, wer euen then, and yet still are in all tongues, and places by a common prouerbe: called shepes heads, or shepe.

*Soche a shepe was in *Colchos* whose flyce *Iason* by the help of *Medea* the kinges daughter fet awaye, sleyng the bulles & dragon, that kept it.

94. Riot and prodigalitee, causeth menne to spue vp whole houses.

Passing by the house of a certain prodigall and riotous persone, where it was written vpon the dore, this house is to bee sold, if any man will buye it. Yea by my feith, quoth Diogenes, I espied very well, and prophecied in my minde, that by reason of thine vnmeasurable gourmaunding and surfeiting, thou wouldest at last spue vp some house.

¶ For he had already consumed and deuoured his house, before he offered thesame to sale, by setting that inscription vpon the dore. So that it might more truely be called a spuyng, then a vendition or sale.

95. The best waye to cease the molestations of busy medlyng feloes is to dissemble that we be greued with them.

To a young feloe, finding great fault, that he was euill combred and troubled of many persones, nor could bee in reste for them: Marie, and ceasse thy self also, quoth he, openly to shew tokens of being out of quiet.

¶ Signifiyng the saucy and busy medlinge of soch persones as will neuer ceasse doing menne shrewd turnes and displeasures, by no yearthly thing better to be quieted or ended, then if the partie that is harmed or wronged dissemble his greef. For soche persones as doe haggue and baye at a bodye, purposly to bring him

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him clene out of quiet, & to vexe him at the botome of the harte roote, will ceasse and leaue of in case they see the partie to be nothing moued with their doing. Albeit I haue half a geasse the Greke wordes comprehende an other priuie or couered sense. For when the young feloe complained, and founde him selfe greued, that a sorte of busie medlers would not let him alone, ne suffer him to be in reste, Diogenes thus aunswered in Greke: *παῦσαι γὰρ καὶ σὺ τὰ δείγματα τοῦ πασχητιῶντος περιφέρων.* That is, Yea and ceasse thou also to carry about with thee, the tokens of a persone wanton and effeminate.

☞ For soche persons neuer lacke trouble or vexation but euery body will haue a saiynge at theim, according to the latin prouerbe, *Mobilum vel mus audet rodere.* That is, an euill persone euen the veryе mous dareth to snappe at. And companie is both greuous and odious to those that are vnhonest, or malefactours, as witnesseth Christ in the Gospell, saiyng: Men loued darkenesse more then light, because their deedes were euill. For euery one that euill doth, hateth the light, neither cometh to the lighte, lest his deedes should be reproued.

An euill person euen the veray mous dareth to snappe at. Euery one that euil doeth hateth the light. Ihon iii.

A minstrell that was a player on the harpe, being of no cunning in the worlde, and therewithall a great gorrebealyed chuff, yea and besides that, dispraysed of al persones that heard him, for the wurst that euer twanged, onely Diogenes, did commende and prayse. And to theim that wondred wherfore he should so do: I allow him and gan him thanke, saied Diogenes, that being soch an one, he hath had more mind and will to set himself on werke, and to be occupied with his harpe, then to take a standing by the high wayes side for a pourse or a bougette.

96. Why *Diogenes* commendeth an harper, whofme all others dispraised.

¶ Signifiyng that the feloe being of body valiaunt and stourdy, and grosse or rude of witte, was by all similitude of outwarde tokens, more apte to haue been a robber on the high waye, then to be an handler of any musicall instrument. The grace of the saiyng, dependeth of the place of rhetorike, *ab inexpectato*, that is

The place of rhetorike *ab inexpectato.*

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is grounded vpon a thing that a body wold lest thinke on. ☞ For who would haue loked for soche an aunswere of *Diogenes*.

97. An other harper, who, as often as he played on his instrumente was forsaken & left alone in place of all his audience: Diogenes, when he met him in the strete, saluted in this maner. God ye saue and see good man cocke. And where the feloe being offended with the straungenesse of that salutation, saied: Why goodman cocke? Marie, quoth he, because that with thy crowing thou reasest euery body that heareth thee.

Howe *Diogenes* saluted an harper that droue away his audience as often as he plaied or song.

¶ He deuised to finde a iesting toye of the ambiguitee or indifferencie of the Greke voice ἀνεγείρειν. For he is properly sayed in Greke, ἀνεγείρειν, both that reaseth a body out of his sleepe, as the cockes vsen to doe, when they crowe with an euill grace, and also that reaseth one sitting on his taill, to arise out of his place, as this harper euermore vsed to doe.

ἀνεγείρειν

98. When a great nomber of people stode gazing and staring vpon a certaine young striepling of excellent good fauour & beautie, Diogenes stooping down very lowe, gathered into his lappe as fast as he could the poultz called Lupines. And the eies of al the folkes turned to behold that sight, he auouched, that he meruailed why thei would leaue the young manne to looke on hym.

This kinde of poultz, called *Lupinus*, we haue not in England growing.

¶ Noting in that by worde, their intemperancie and wanton disposition.

99. To a feloe that was exceading supersticious, and sore subiect to the terrours of bugges, and sprites, or goblins, that walken by night and in places solitarie, and yet manaced to slea Diogenes, saiyng vnto him, I will at one stroke all to crushe thy hedde to powther: In faithe quoth he

Howe *Diogenes* mocked a supersticious feloe, that was

he againe, if thou so doe, I shall be ready at thine elbow to plaie the parte of Hobgoblin or Collepixie, and make thee for feare to weene the deuill is at thy polle.

afraid of spirites, thretening to slea him.

¶ Signifiyng that he was hable to make the other partie afraied, euen beyng dedde, of whom he was so contemned and set at naught beyng aliue. And yet thissame foolishe minde and fansie, euen at this verie presente daie possesseth no small nomber, who although they be fierse and ful of cocking against liues men, yet are thesame most fearfull creatures that possible may be of soules walking (as they call it.)

The superstitious feare and imaginacion of many folkes that soules walken.

Being desired and praied, by one *Hegesias, to lende him the vse of three or fower bookes: Thou art a madde felloe Hegesias, quoth he, (that where in choosing figgues thou wilt not take figgues peinted or counterfeited, but very true and right figgues in deede) thou canst finde in thy hart, (the very true actuall exercise and practise of philosophie neglected) to renne to the philosophie scribled or peinted in paper.

100.

*Hegesias was a Philosophier *Cyrenaique*, that is to say, of Epicure his sect, a manne of so great eloquence (as *Valerius Maximus* wryteth) that he did so liuely declare & set out all the euils of this present life that the piteous and lamentable representation of thesame euils, through his wordes, depely engraued and enprinted in the hertes of men, very many persones toke occasion to hate this present life, & had an earnest desirefulnesse willingly to ridde theimselues out of the worlde. And therfore he was by the commaundement of king Ptolomeus forbidden any more to speake of any such matter.

¶ In this saiyng he noted those persons, who all their whole life through, dooe nothing but reade the bookes and werkes of Philosophiers, conteining preceptes or rules of vertuous liuing, where as vertue is more effectually learned by practising or putting the same in vre, then by reading. The greke vocable γράφειν, whiche *Diogenes* vsed, is a voyce indifferent to wryting and to peinting. And therfore vertue set forth in bokes, is vertue much like in maner as if it were painted on a cloth or table. And in dede against al reason it is, in chosing figgues to be curious & precise to take none but of the best and in vertue to be nothing so.

To a certaine persone in the waye of reproche obiecting

101.

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obiecting vnto him that he was a man banished his countrie: Thou sely creature, saied he, for this verie cause did I at the first become a Philosophier.

Why *Diogenes* first became to be a Philosophier.

¶ Either for that banishment had enforced & driuen *Diogenes* to enter the studie of philosophie, or els because he had purposely learned philosophie, to thende that he might be able with a pacient & contentfull mind to endure banishment & other semblable chances.

102. Howe *Diogenes* aunswered one that cast in his teeth that the *Sinopians* had banished him.

Vnto an other feloe saiyng to him in despite, Nay, the Sinopians haue condemned thee with banishing thee, neuer to come more in that countrie, And I theim, quoth he, to abide there and neuer to come thence.

To be exiled from a place by compulsion, and to abyde in a place by compulsion is equal miserie.

¶ Signifiyng himselfe, in that he was bidden to go seeke him a dwelling place in an other countrie, to bee no point in worse state or condicion, then those persones, which remained still dwelling in their owne countrie, not able paciently to suffre banishment if it should chaunce. For egual miserie it is to make a bodie abide in a place by enforcement & compulsion, and to be banyshed or exiled from a place by enforcement and compulsion.

A Philosophier indifferently reputeth all places vnder the cope of heauen, to be his natiue countree.

A Philosophier, who indifferently taketh euery grounde & euery land vnder the cope of heauen (which so euer it be) for his owne natiue countrie, if he be commaunded to departe any whence by banishement, is a man exiled out of some one particular Citee or nacion onely. But he that can not liue in an other place besides his owne countrie, where he was borne & breden, is a man banished out of regions almost innumerable.

Why *Diogenes* was banyshed out of his own countree.

As touching *Diogenes*, in deede he was banished his countrie for counterfaitinge or coyning of money, as men thinke. And borne he was a *Sinopian*. This present historie *Plutarchus* in that treatise, entitled of banishment, reporteth in maner and forme here ensuing.

The

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The Sinopians haue by their decree, banished thee out of *Pontus for euer, Yea, but I condemne them in this pein, quoth he againe, that they remaine still enclosed and pend vp within Pontus, and the ferthermost strandes of all Euxinus, neuer to come out from thence.

*Pontus & Euxinus, are taken all for one. And it is parte of the sea from *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, vnto the great Marice of *Scythia*, called *Meotis*. It is also abrode & wyde region marching round about the coastes of the same sea encompacing many prouinces, as *Colchos*, *Armenia*, & *Cappadocia*. And in *Cappadocia* (being a desert and barren countree) stode *Sinopa* the citee, in which *Diogenes* was borne.

¶ *Diogenes* had chaunged his countrie, but thesame for the better. The *Sinopians* were more like folkes banished or exiled, in that they were remedilesse, appointed and assigned to continue all their liues in soch an incommodious, vnfrutefull, and baren region, as *Sinopa*.

Those persones, that were commen doers, in prouing maisteries at the games of Olympia, were called in greke ὁλυμπιονῖκαι. Of whiche sort when Diogenes had by chaunce founde one keping sheepe. O Moun sire Capitain (said he) with howe great celeritee and speede haue ye conueied and gotten your self from Olympia to Nemea.

103.

¶ Finding a mery toye in the affinitee or similitude of the Greke vocables. For Νέμεα in greke, are certain games of prouing maisteries so called of the place where thesame were celebrated and holden, euen as *Olympia*, afore mencioned. And the greke verbe νέμω, souneth in latin *Pasco*, in Englishe, to keepe or feede catalles in the pastures, and νόμος is in latin *Pascua*, in Englishe, pastures or leasues.

Nemea, is a region of the countree of *Arcadia*, situate & liyng betwene twoo citees, the one *Cleone*, and the other *Clitorium* in the whiche *Clitorium*, as witnesseth *Ouidius*, was a wel or fountaine of which who so euer did drinke, could not afterward away with drynking wyne. In the wodde or forest of this *Nemea* did *Hercules* kill the hougie great Lion, whose skynne he wore on his back for his weede. And in the honour of the said *Hercules*, did the people of *Argos* euen there celebrate and kepe solemne games, whiche were named *Nemea*, of the place in whiche thei were holden and kepte, in like maner as is afore saied of Olympia.

Being asked wherfore the champions or fighting menne called Athletæ, had no sense ne feeling: Marie (quoth he) because they haue been brought

104.

brought vp altogether with porke & beef, and soch other grosse feding.

Grosse meates maken the bodie strong but the witte dull.

¶ For that sort of men are fedde vp with the grosse kindes of meates, which in deed conferren to the body hard brawne, and clene strength, but as for the witte, it maketh as grosse and dulle, as can be thought. But to this present mery saiying, the ambiguitee or doubtfulnesse of the vocable, & nothyng els, gaue place, and was occasion of it. For as with the Grekes, *αἰσθάνεσθαι* & with the Latin men, *Sentire*, so in English, to haue a feling belongeth as well to the mynde as to the bodye. But the demaunder of the question, asked what was the cause, wherfore the said champions, lacking (as ye would saye) bodely sense and felying, were neuer offended ne greeued with stripes or strokes. And *Diogenes* had more phansy to note the brutish grossenesse & dumping of the minde.

To haue a feeling in a matter.

☞ For we saie commenly in Englishe, that we feele a mans minde, when we vnderstand his entent or meaning, and contrariwyse, when thesame is to vs verie darke, and harde to be perceiued, we doe commenly vse to say, I can not feele his mynde, or I haue no maner feling in the matter &c.

105. He vsed nowe and then to resorte to Images of stone or brasse, or other metal, set vp in the honour of this or that God, & to aske one or other boune of theim. And to soch persones as made great wondring wherfore he so did, That I may enure my selfe (quoth he) not to be moued, ne to take in euill part, if at any time I doe not obteine my requestes & peticions that I aske of men.

Vse assuageth greefes.

106. After that Diogenes by extreme pouertee (coarcted and driuen therunto) had begon to begge for his liuing, his accustomed guyse was, after this forme to fall in hand with men for their almes: If thou hast been a geuer of almes to

The fourme of begging that *Diogenes* vsed.

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to any other persone heretofore, giue to me also, if to no bodye, begynne nowe at me.

¶ He signified that he was no lesse worthy to haue the charitee of men, then the residue of beggers, & therfore to be mete, that who were liberall in geuing to eche body at auenture, should extende his liberalitee vnto *Diogenes* also: and who were soch a niggarde or hayn, that he coulde not finde in his harte afore that daye to departe with an halfpeny to any creature liuing, for soch a feloe to be hyghe tyme ones in his life, to beginne to departe with somewhat to the poore.

Being on a tyme asked the question of a certaine tyranne of what sorte of brasse metall it was most conuenient that images should be made: Of the very same (quoth he) in which *Harmodius and Aristogiton were casten. 107.

¶ Betokening, that the partie, if he were well serued, was worthy to be dispatched out of the waye. For the sayd *Harmodius* & *Aristogiton* had been tyrannequellers.

*When the citee of *Athenes* was oppressed and holden in seruitude by thirty tyrannes

Harmodius and *Aristogiton*, by suche prouision as they made, did subdue and destroye the sayd tyrannes. Wherfore, the people of *Athenes* agnifyng their vnestimable benefite receiued at the handes of thesaid *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton*, made and sette vp in their honour and perpetual memorie, their Images and portures in copper, which Images were long time after, had in soch reuerence and honour, that *Xerxes*, when he had wonne *Athenes*, toke from thence thesaid Images, & the same caried into his owne kingdome. And after many yeares *Sileucus* made prouision, and found the meanes to haue thesame Images conueighed home againe to *Athenes*, and to be set vp in their old places. Also the *Rhodians* did the same Images (being arriued at their citee in the waye homewarde) highly receiue with procession, and honourably entreate theim at the publique charges of the citie & did place theim in the tabernacles of the Gods, as witnesseth *Valerius Maximus*.

To one demaunding after what sorte Dionysius did vse, handle, and entreate his frendes that were familiare about hym: Like as if thei were bottles, said he, the full he hangeth vp, and the emptie, he casteth aside in a corner. 108. How *Dionisius* the tyranne vsed his familiare frendes.

¶ Signifiyng, that by the said tyranne *Dionisius* the ryche and welthy of his subiectes, went daily to the

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potte and were chopped vp, & soch beggery wretches as had nothing to leese were nothing medled withal, ne had any thing said vnto theim.

109. Howe *Hercules* was worshipped in old time and by what surnames. *Hercules ἀλεξίκακος. Hercules, Callinicus.*

Hercules was in olde time, worshipped vnder the name of ἀλεξίκακος, that is: the depoulsour and driuer awaye of all euils: because of the valiaunt sleyng of many sondrie monsters, by him extincted. He was also the sonne of Iupiter, and by another name called Callinicus, for respecte of his manifolde actes of prouesse, and noble victories that he had gotten, in subduing aswell his enemies, and giauntes, as also other hougie monsters, as aforesaid. And so it was, that a certain persone had written vpon the dore of his house, this hyghe triumphaunt title or poysee: The sonne of Iupiter, Callinicus, Hercules, in this house hath his habitation, no euill thing therfore motte there entre into this place. Diogenes by this inscription espiyng the folly of the feloe, said: When the stede is already stolen, shutte the stable dore, or when I am dead make me a caudle.

μετὰ πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία, *id est, post bellum auxilium.* Aide after that the field is already foughten.

¶ Noting that it was ouer late to saye, God saue the house from al euils, nowe that soch a lewde feloe was already entred to dwell in it. For it had been necessarie that the sayde *Hercules*, ἀλεξίκακος, that might saue the house from all misfortunes, or misauentures, had taken vp his habitacion in thesame, before the owner selfe of the house had setled him selfe to dwell there, who on his owne partie and behalfe was soch a feloe as a man should rake hell for.

109. Espiyng a ryotous surfeiting feloe in his hoste his house, eating oliues towards the euening: Sirrha said he, if thou haddest made thy dyner with soche meate as that, thou wouldest not nowe suppe with the meate that thou doest.

Meaning

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¶ Meaning, it not to be for any point of frugalitee, or sobre diet, that he had nothing to his supper besides a fewe oliues, but for that his stomake beyng ouercharged, with the excessiue denty diner which he had made at noone, had no appetite to take any thing at supper. For a light and a spare dyner, is the best medicine or sauce in the worlde, to make one haue a good appetite to his supper.

The best medicin to make one haue a good appetite to his supper, is a light dyner at noone.

Full often & many a time did he saye, couetousnesse of money to be the head *palaice, or the head citee of al euils or mischiefs.

110. Where couetousnesse of monie is, there reigneth all mischief.

¶ Not very moche variyng from the sentence of the wyse man Salomon, who sayeth, that couetousnesse of money is the roote of all euils.

i. Timoth 6.

* The greke worde is μητρόπολις, as if ye shoulde saye, the place where all euils are conceuied, or from whence all euils doen issue. For it is compouned not of μέτρον, measuring nor of μήτηρ, τρὸς, mother, but of μήτρα, μήτρας a matrice, that is to saie, the place of concepcion, and of issuyng. And therof is *Metropolis*, called the chief citee where the Archbishop of any prouince hath his See, and hath all the other diocesses of that prouince subiect to him, as Canterbury and Yorke, here in Englande.

Vertuous and good men, he affirmed to be the liuely and true Images of the Goddes.

111. *Diogenes* auouched honest and vertuous men to be the true Images of the Goddes.

¶ Forasmuche as the Goddes, of their very nature been altogether full of all goodnesse the propertee of thesame is, to doe good to all folkes, and to hurt no body. And this Image is muche better represented in sapient and good men, then in dead Images of stone or metall, since that the Goddes are thinges mere ghostly or spirituall, and not materiall of bodily thinges.

Loue he saied to be the occupacion or busines of idle folkes, that had nothinge els to set them selues on werke withall.

112. Loue is the occupation of idle persones.

¶ Because this pangue or guierie of loue doth especially aboue all others, inuade and possesse soche persones as been altogether drouned in idlenesse. And so commeth it to passe, that whyle thei geuen theimselues

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theimselues wholly to idlenesse, they stumble on a thing that filleth their handes as full of combrous busines as they are able to awaye withall, and yet in the meane time, the Deuill of the one chare of good werke they doen.

113. What thyng *Diogenes* rekened the moste miserable in this life.

To one demaunding, what was the moste miserable thing in this life? he made aunswere: An aged bodye in extreme pouertee.

He is not to be accompted poore that hath in youth purchased good disciplines, & honest frendes.

¶ For when the sure stayes or lenyng postes of nature doe faill a man, then must the feblenesse of age be propped, bolstred vp, or vnderset with the succour & help of worldly substaunce. Albeit, that persone is not to bee rekened or accoumpted in the nombre of poore folkes, who hathe in his youth purchaced vnto himselfe good disciplines or other craftes and honest frendes, the moste assured and trusty prouision to liue by in a mans olde dayes. That feloe is a begger in moste wretched condicion, that is endued with no good qualitee.

He is in the moste wretched state of beggerie, that is endued with no good qualitee.

114. What beaste hath the moste perilous and hurtfull stinge.

Being asked, what beast had the moste perilous and hurteful stingue: If thy question be of saluaige beastes (quoth Diogenes) the backbiter: if of tame beastes the flatterer.

¶ For the backbiter hydeth not his hatered towardes any body, ne recketh who knoweth the same: the flatterer, vnder the visour or cloke of a frende, hurteth tenne times more greuously then the other.

115. *The *Centaures* were a people of the countree of *Thessalia*, not ferre from the mount *Pelion*. They were the first that euer fought on horsback. Whiche thei were

Beholding twoo * Centaures fighting in a painted table, of wondrous euil werkmanship, Whether of these two, saied he, is the worse?

¶ Noting the rudenesse and default of cunning in the Peinter, as though he stoode in doubte whether of the bothe had been worse drawen or sette out in peinting. But the pith of the saiyng consisteth in that he vsed a worde that may be taken in two sondrie senses: For the greke vocable χείρων, in englishe, worse, is said aswell

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aswell of one that is worse in estimation of value, or any other comparison, and also that hath the worse or is put to the worse in fighting.

driuen to, for to destroye a great heard of wilde bulles,

that did much scathe in all the countree about. And of this (because to the sely people beholding theim a ferre of, they appeared after a monstruous facion & shape the Poetes doe feigne that they were gyauntes, in the vpper parte of the body men, and in the nether parte horses, and that *Ixion* begot the first of theim on a cloude, they are called of the latines *Centauri*, of the greke worde, κεντεῖν, that is to pricke, or to spurre, because they keeked and set spurres thicke to the horses sides, when they galopped in chacing the wilde bulles, but their greke name was a word compounde *hippocentauri*, for ἵππος is an horse.

Faire and smothe speaking, not proceading from the bottome of the harte, but altogether framed to please the hearer, Diogenes customably vsed to call an hony brake, or a snare of honey.

116. Faire & smothe speaking framed onely to please the hearer, *Diogenes* called a trappe or snare of honey.

¶ Because thesame vnder the pretense of loue, embracing a man as though the speaker wer ready euen to crepein to the bosome of the hearer, cutteth the throte of thesame.

The bealy of excessiue gourmaunders & gluttons, he called the Charybdis of mans life, for that thesame deuoured al that euer it might gette, and yet was neuer saciate.

117. The bealies of gluttons *Diogenes* called the *Charybdis* of mans lyfe.

¶ *Charybdis* * swalloweth vp only soche thinges as are carried by sea, & after a little tyme, casteth vp again whatsoeuer it goulped in before: but the bealies of gulliguttes (that can naught do, but eat & drinke & slepe) neither the aire, nor the land, nor the floodes & riuers, nor yet al the seas are able to suffise. Yea, & rather then faill, both whole mainor places, & also whole Lordships, thei make no bones, ne sticke not, quite & clene to swallow doune the narrowe lane, and thesame to spue vp again.

*Charybdis and *Scylla*, after the feigning of the Poetes ar two monstres of the sea, in the way betwene *Calabria* and *Sicilia* standing the one directly against the other & the same so daungerously, that thei destroy al the shippes that come within the reach of either of theim. For *Charybdis* they fable to be a monster that swalloweth vp all thinges, and thesame shortly after spouteth vp againe: but in very dede, it is a daungerous goulfe, making sore ouerfalles by reason of the meting of sondrie streames in one point. And *Scilla* in very deede, is a great rocke in thesame streight standing so directly against *Charibdis*, that except the shippes cutte and take course euen iustly betwene both they hardely escape drouning. And because that *Scilla* afar of, representeth to the eye the figure and shape of a Christian body and to the eare (by reason of

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of roring and beating of the wawes) it representeth the barking of Dogges, therfore the Poetes haue feigned, that *Scilla* is a monster of the sea, hauing in the vpper part, the shape of a mayden, and in the nether part the likenesse of a fyshe, the bealy of a woulf, and the tayle of a dolphin fyshe, as witnesseth *Virgilius* in the third volume of the *Aeneidos*. Albeit, *Homere* wrytteth, that *Scilla* hath sixe heades, and twelve feete, and barketh like a dogge.

118. When certain persones made relacion to Diogenes, howe that one Didymo was attached for liyng with an other mannes wife: If the wretche were well serued (quoth Diogenes) he should be hanged vp euen by thesame thing that he beareth the name of.

Didymi. ¶ In dede, *Didimi*, is greke for a paire of mans stones, so that the mynde of *Diogenes* was, that soche a sinfull Caitife, ought to be hanged vp by that membres of the whiche he had his name, and by the which he had committed the offense & trespace.

119. One that laboured the study of naturall Philosophie, opposed Diogenes with this question, For what cause golde looked to the eye somwhat pale and wanne of coloure? Marie, quoth he, because there be so many folkes liyng in awayt for it.

For what cause gold loketh to the eye pale & wan of colour.

¶ Soche persones as knowe that they haue awayte or watche layde for theim, cannot but be a fearde. And the propertee of any body beyng in great feare is to loke with a pale and wanne colour.

120. When he sawe a woman sitting in an horselitter, or charette, he saied: that another maner caige then that, had ben more mete for a beast of that kynde.

¶ Noting, that soche frowarde creatures as many women are, ought rather to be pended vp in a cage of iron.

☞ *Lectica* was a certain maner of seate for noble women, which I doe here call an horselitter, because we haue no kynde of seate so nyghe, or so like in facion to the *Lectica*. Albeit, they were not in olde time drawen with horses, but carried vpon sixe mens shoulders, and they were made with preatie lattesse windores and

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and crosse barres or grates, and paines to shutte & to open, for loking out at pleasure. So that it shewed and represented to the eye muche what the facion or likenesse of a caige for byrdes, or of a pende, wherein to kepe other beastes.

¶ And in soche did the ryche or welthy women: yea and also the other nycibecetours or denty dames, customably vse, both to sitte for their pleasure, and also to be carried about the stretes for their solace and recreation.

Espiyng a bondseruaunt, that was a rennewaye, or at lestwyse a strayer from his maister, sitting by a welles side: Take hede young man, saied he, that ye sitte fast for getting a fal. 121.

¶ He did no more but daly with a worde, that may indifferently be taken in diuerse senses. For the greke verbe, ἐκπίπτειν, souneth in latin *Excidere*, in english to get a fall, or to haue a fall. And he is properly saied in greke ἐκπίπτειν, in latin *Excidere*, in englyshe to geat a fall, both that falleth down into a pit or a welle,and also that is violently tombled or taken out of his place. And mine opinion is, that welles in old time emong the Gentiles, had the strengthe of sanctuarie, and that it was not leeful violently or by force, to plucke any body from thesame, no more then out of the temples of the Goddes, or from the Image and porturature of the prince.

When he had espied at the hotehouse, a feloe that vsed to steale away gownes & coates, or other garmentes (and soche an one the Grekes callen λωποδύτην) he said vnto him: Syrrha, ar ye come to the bath, or els to the bayte. 122.

¶ Albeit, *Diogenes* dalyed with the affinitee of greke voyces, whiche it is not possible with eguall grace to expresse either in latin, or yet in our mother tongue. The greke wordes ben, ἐπ' ἀλειμμάτιον, ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλ' ἱμάτιον, betwene the wordes, at (lestwise in soune) there is wondrous smal difference. For of the verbe ἀλείφω, is deriued a noune, ἄλειμμα, that is, oyntment or enoynting

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ing, and thereof *ἀλεῖπται, whose office was to enoynt men, had their name. And of ἄλειμμα, is fourmed a diminutiue, ἀλειμμάτιον: nowe, ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον, are two sondrie wordes, albeit by reason of the figure called *Synalephe* (whiche is, when two vouels concurring together, the former leeseth his power and soune by collision) it seemeth in maner no more but one diction, for if one take away the *Synalephe*, the whole wordes ben ἄλλο ἱμάτιον. That is, an other litle garment, so that the veray righte wordes that *Diogenes* spake to the feloe, were these: Are ye come to be enoynted, or els to steale an other garment?

*Alipte were those to whose cure were committed those persones to be enointed (that thei might haue their iointes nimble & lithy) that should fighte in the solemne games that were celebrate & holden in the honour of any of the goddes. He is also called *Alipta* that enointeth woundes or sore places of the body to souple theim.

¶ For in the bayne or hotehouse, folkes were in olde time enoynted, & in the selfe same place, the pikepurses and stealers of apparell diligently applied, and went aboute their occupacion: for it was the guise to washe naked, their clothes put of, and laid aside. *Diogenes* therfore gaue a quippe to the embesleer or briber, that thesame hauing stolen some garment elswhere afore, was nowe come thyther to purloyne and conueigh away an other.

☞And because a gowne or a cote so rechelesly cast aside, is a good bayte for one that seeketh it: and to thintent that the saiyng might haue some what the more grace, I haue thus translated it, to the bath, or els to the baite. That if it had not been more for discharging the duetie of a translatour, then for any greate delite, or profite to the vnlearned reader, I would haue passed ouer this *Apophthegme*, and left it cleane out.

123. When he was on a time entred into an hot hous, that laie horrible filthie, sluttishe and vncleane, he saied in this maner: Thei that washe in this place, wher be thei washed after it?

¶ He signified that soche persones as came in thither pure and clene, wer there embrued with durte and filthinesse, and soche as were at any time washed there, to haue veray great neede of a second rynsing, wherewith eftsons to be scoured and made clene.

124. When he had on a time espied women hanging vpon an oliue tree, & there strangled to death with

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with the halters: Would God (said he) that the other trees to had like fruite hanging on theim.

Diogenes was μισογυνὴς that is one that hated women to the deuill of hell.

¶ For. *Diogenes* was one that loued no women in no sauce, but hated theim dedly, and for that cause had a great zele and affection to see theim euery one swinging and tottering in halters.

125. Howe *Diogenes* saluted one that had an euill name for robbinge of dead mennes toumbes.

Diogenes seing a certaine feloe, that had a very euill name and reporte, that he should be a spoyler & robber of dead mens tombes and herses, salued, or hailed hym with this verse of Homere.

τίπτε σὺ ὧδε φέριστε,
ἦ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνειώτων,

Moun sire, for what purpose hath your good grace,
At this present now approched hither?
To spoile any of these, whiche in this place
Lye dead, and buried here together?

126. *Diogenes* had neither man ne woman seruaunt.

Being asked the question whether he had any man or woman seruaunte of his owne, he aunswered, No in good faithe, not one in the worlde. And when the demaunder had ferther saied, Why, who shall then carie thee to thy graue, in case it fortune thee to die? Marie (quoth he) euen whosoeuer shall haue neede of my house, for to dwell in it.

Diogenes toke no thought how or by what persones he should be buried.

¶ Many persones are very supersticiously carefull, how and by what persons they shalbe brought to their graues, and laied in the ground: of all soche maner thought or care, was *Diogenes* clere voyde, casting no doubtes, but that there should come one or other bodye, that would conueigh his dead carcasse out of doores, though it were for nothing els, but to make the house voyde. Albeit his chaunce was in fine, to be very honestly buried.

127.

Beholding a certain young springal, as he slept rechelesly at all auentures, he pounched thesame with

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with his staffe and recited the verse of Homerus here foloyng.

ἐγείρεο,
μήτις σοι εὕδοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ.

The daunger of sleping neglygently in euery corner.

Sus, lest some body while thou slepest here,
Come and gore the through the back with a spere.

☞ The grace of the saiyng consisteth in this pointe, that *Diogenes* feactely applied the verse of Homere to his purpose, by saiyng εὕδοντι, instede of φεύγοντι for in Homere it is, μήτις σοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ that is.

Lest some man, whyle thou rennest awaye for feare,
Thrust the behinde, quite through with a speare.

It been the wordes of *Diomedes*, in the .viii. of the *Ilias* vnto *Vlysses*: whome, when he was renninge away, *Diomedes*, biddeth to turne againe for shame, & not to flee: lest some man, &c.

128. To a feloe that was beyond al reason, or out of all course euen full and whole geuen to good chere, and all kindes of riot and excesse, he applied that piece of Homer his verse: ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι That is. In feith my childe, your dayes are but short.

¶ Signifiyng that the partie would with his riotous facions kill himselfe ere he wer halfe olde.

129. The * Idees, that Plato deuised, and muche treateth of, euen Aristotle laughed to skorne. And so it was, that at a certain season, when Plato made a great long circumstaunce, about the declaring of the Idees, and toke much peine with vocables of his owne forging, to expresse and plainlye to set out the same Idees, a thing feined, and founded onely in the conceipte of imagination, hauing in his mouth at euery second worde the said forged vocables of the Idees, as for example, tabletes, for the facion of a table, by it self to be conceiued in the imagination of the minde for a comen paterne as it were laide vp, and

*Like as in materiall and sensible grosse thinges we see that the hosiers haue hanginge by them in their shops purposly certaine paternes, out of which thei take the facion of the clocke of an hose whensoeuer they must make any soch and semblably the shoemakers

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and kept in the mynd, wherby all other like tables are to be deuised & shaped. And cuppitees, for the commen paterne whereby all drinking cups are to be deuised, facioned & wrought by the maker: Diogenes mocking soch quidificall trifles, that wer al in the cherubins, said: Sir Plato, your table and your cuppe I see very well, but as for your tabletee, & your cupitee, I see none soche.

haue alwayes ready hanging on a nayle, paternes of lether purposely reserued and kepte wherby to shape the vpper leathers, and also other paternes for the heeles of all the shoes that thei make: so did *Plato* affirme, that ther be, and eternally haue ben, of eche naturall thing certaine generall paternes to euery of thesame kindes seuerally belonging, which paternes onely the imagination and vnderstanding

¶ Albeit there be euen at this present daye to, that with their sorteitees, and their ecceitees be in their own conceiptes euen doctours of the chaire.

Yet neuerthelesse Plato paied Diogenes home againe well enough, and gaue as good as he brought. It is no meruaill, said Plato; for thou hast eyes with the whiche cuppes and tables are seen, but witte and reason thou hast not with whiche are perceiued and seen the tableitees and the cuppytees.

of mans reason, is able to comprehend or to conceiue. And that out of the example or copie of those generall paternes, nature from time to time hath still, doth, and continually shall forme and shape all singular or particulare thinges of euery seuerall kinde: so that an Idee is the appropriate forme, and peculiar likenesse of thinges in euery kinde, out of the whiche as being a substancial, paterne eternally remaining, ar figured shaped and produced, al particular thinges in this or that kinde. For example and declaration wherof as when we see in waxe a thousand sondrie imprintinges all of one likenesse, we doe easely & promptlie conceiue that all thesame emprintinges were originally made and emprinted with one seale, so may we by our intelligence comprehende that all the particular menne in the world, haue ben formed of one generall paterne of mankinde, whiche hath in eternal substaunce remained ready for that purpose. And semblably must the imagination or reason conceiue of an horse, of a table, of a cuppe, and of all other kyndes of naturall thinges. And this the position and assertion of *Plato* dothe saint *Augustine* allowe and vpholde (as ye may reade in his treatise of the .lxx. questions) and also *Eusebius* in his werke *De praeparatione Euangelica*, both whiche autours *Ambrosius Calepinus*, doeth in his dictionarie cite for testimonie and declarations of the said Idees.

To one demaunding when best season were to wedde a wife: For a young man, (quoth he) it is to soone, and for an olde manne ouerlate. 130. When *Diogenes* thought moste expedient for a manne to wedde a wife.

¶ Albeit the greke wordes by reason of a certain vicinitee,

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vicinitee, haue most grace, μηδέπωτε, not yet, and μηδεπώποτε not at all. Geuing a pretie watch worde, that best wer vtterly to abstein from matrimonie. But the demaunder would very faine haue learned, at what yeres of a mans age, or in whiche part of the yere, it were expedient for a man to chose his make: As *Aristotle* doth by prescription appoint the conuenient or ripe time of being mariable, to a virgin, the age of eightene yeares, to a man, the age of thirtie & fiue yeares. And the Romaines thought the monethes of Aprile and Iune propice and good to wedde in, & the moneth of May vnlucky.

The ripe time of being maryable for man & woman by the prescription of *Aristotle*.

The Romaines thought Aprill and Iune lucky monethes to marrye in, & May vnlucky.

131. To a feloe demaunding what he would haue, to take a blowe or a buffette: Marie (quoth he) a sallette.

A mery answer unloked for.

¶ This merie ieste to, hath all his grace of the sodain aunswere that no man would haue looked for. For the other partie looked to heare what recompence or hier, *Diogenes* would require for a blowe on the cheeke.

132. When he sawe a young ruffler trimming himself after the moste galaunt and minion facion: If that trimming bee for men (said he) it will not be: if for women, it should not be.

What *Diogenes* said to a young man trimming him selfe, after the gallant sort

¶ This saiyng souneth more pleasauntly in Greke, by reason of thaffinitee of the two voices, ἀτυχεῖς thou failest of thy purpose, and ἀδικεῖς thou doest plain iniurie. For it is in vaine for one man to trimme himselfe for an other, sence that betwene theim can be no mariage. And a wicked deede doth any young man, if by setting forth of his beautie, he do laye abaite to beguile the fraile sexe of womankinde, where as a wife ought to be wonne, not with the lure of wantonesse, but with honest maners & behaueour.

Awife ought to be wonne with honest maners and behaueour

133. To a certain young ladde blushing, & by reason of the same blushing sore dismayed: Take a good

Blushing in a

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good heart my sonne (quoth he) that same hewe or coloure is of vertuous diyng, or doth the dieuat of vertue geue.

young thinges chekes is of vertuous diyng.

When he had heard two cunning lawiers contending, trauersing, & earnestly laiyng the law betwen themselfes together, about a matter of theft: he saied they were false knaues both of them, and condemned aswell the one as the other, alleging that the one had committed theft, and that the other had lost nothing.

134. What *Diogenes* said of two lawiers contending, laiyng the one against the other.

¶ Signifiyng that both of them wer well worthy to be hanged. The subtilitee of this present saiyng consisteth in this point onely, whoso piketh or priuely stealeth awaie any thing hath some auauntage & gain therby: & the partie, from whom any soche thing is pielfed & bribed away hath by thesame, disauantage & losse. But in this present case, there had a mad or fond knack befallen. The one partie had pielfed, or embesleed awaie a thing of the others, & yet the partie from whom the thing was pieked, susteined no losse ne damage, for himself had stolen thesame thing afore, which his feloe bribed away afterwarde from him again.

To one demaunding what wyne he best loued and liked with his good will to drinke, Marie (quoth he) of an other mannes purse.

135. The best wine is, that a body drinketh of an other mans cost.

¶ Here also the ready answering much contrary to the expectation of the demaunder geueth to the saiyng all his grace. The other partie looked for an other maner aunswer, as the whiche in his question asking, meaned of the kynde of wyne.

To one that saied vnto him: All the worlde almost doth mocke thee. Yea, but for all that, saied he again: I am not mocked.

136.

¶ And this a man would thinke to be a thinge vnpossible that one should strike you, and yet ye not be stryken. But *Diogenes* denied that he was had in derision,

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Diogenes thought the skorning of the fond people, nothing to touche him.

derision, either for that he was no manne worthy why, or els for that he thought the skorning of the fonde people, nothing to touche him, nor himself to be in any point the worse for thesame.

137. To another persone affirming that it was a miserable and a wretched thing to liue here in this world. No (said Diogenes) to liue is no miserable ne wretched thing, but to leade an euill or a vicious life, is a thing wretched and miserable.

To liue is no miserablething but to lede a vicious life.

¶ The moste part of folkes calleth it a miserable life, or a dogges life, that is subiect or in present daunger of trauailes, of bodely grief or peines, of sicknesse or diseases, of losse of goodes, of exilinges & banishementes, and many semblable incommoditees. But the Philosophier rekened nothing to be euill or miserable, sauing that was lynked or coupleed with vice and dishonestee.

Nothing is euill, but that is coupled with dishonestee and with vice.

138. Diogenes had a seruaunt, that was called Manes, and when this Manes had taken his heeles and renne awaye from his maister, the frendes of Diogenes, auised him to seeke out the renneawaye: Marie sir (quoth Diogenes) that were a mad thinge of all thinges, if Manes doe already willingly liue without Diogenes, and Diogenes could by no meanes liue without the companie of Manes.

Manes the seruaunt of *Diogenes*.

The answer of *Diogenes* to his frendes auisinge him to pursue after his bondman, that was renne away from him.

¶ Yet many men pursue after their seruauntes in mynde and purpose, to be auenged on thesame: but *Diogenes* had regarde to the nede of vsing or occupiyng a seruaunt. That if any one Philosophier be of righter sorte then another, it is he, that nedeth fewest thinges. And in consideration therof *Diogenes* would not in any wyse seme worse then his bondman.

The best Philosophier is he that feleth nede of fewest thinges.

☞For *Manes* had renne away from him, because he could lyue without his maister well enough.

On

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On a time Diogenes made all his dyner with Oliues onely: and tarte & other sweete meates, anone after brought in pláce, he flong from him, and therewithall songe this greke verse, out of some olde tragedie. 139.

ὦ ξένε τυράννοις ἐκποδὼν καθίστασο.

Stand vtter ye geast vnbidden, pick you hence
Aback, out of our sight and regal presence.

And also this piece of Homere his verse.

ἄλλοτε μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν.

Somewhiles with scourges, he chaced away.

Diogenes a contemner of all sensual delices.

¶ Calling himselfe a kyng, a contemner of all sensuall delices, whiche delices, his will & mynde was to haue clene out of all mens presence and occupiyng abandoned.

Diogenes was commenly abrode called dogge. And of doggues there ben diuerse sortes mo then one. For ther be hariers, or buckhoundes, there be spanyels made to the hawke, or for taking of foule, ther be shepeherdes curres, there are tye dogges or mastifes for keepinge of houses, there ben litle minxes, or pupees that ladies keepe in their chaumbers for especial iewels to playe withall. And so, to one demaunding what maner a dogge he, for his part was, he feactely aunswered and saied: When I am hungry I am a litle mynxe ful of play, and when my bealy is full, a mastife. 140.

What maner a doggue *Diogenes* was.

¶ For that, when he had good lust or appetite to eate, he would fawne vpon folkes, and speake theim faire, and when his bealy was well filled, he would euermore buffe, & barke, & bite a good.

Being asked, whether Philosophiers were eaters of tartes or sweete meates to? Yea, of all thinges (saied Diogenes) euen like other Christian bodies. 141.

Philosophiers eate all maner meates as others that are menne.

¶ In this also, he made an vndirecte answere, to the question that was asked of him. The demaunders question

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question was, whether it wer conuenient for Philosophiers) who professen frugalitee or temperaunce) to feede of tartes and marzepaine, the meates of deintye mouthed persones. *Diogenes* sembleing to haue no great witte ne knowledge, but to be more then halfe a foole, so shaped his aunswere, as though Philosophiers were no men in deede, and yet did eate meates to the diete of man belonging. For euery kynde of the brute beastes, do not eate all maner thinges at auenture without exception. The oxe eateth heighe, the lyon woll none of it: the sheepe loue the lefes and toppes of willowe twigges, the horses woulde haue otes. Some byrdes are fedde with the beries of Iuniper, some foules are deuourers of fleshe, some doe fede altogether on fyshe. And to this alluded *Diogenes*.

εἰρωνένων

142. When Diogenes on a time at the table emong companie, was eating of a tarte, and one that sate in thesame companie, said: What art thou eating now Diogenes? (deming that the cynike Philosophier had no knowledge what maner thing a tarte should be:) he aunswered bread, of a very good making, or bread very well handled in the baking.

¶ Pretending that he knew not what it was. To others it was swete tarte, to *Diogenes* it was no better then bread, who did not eate it for sensualitee, or for to sweete his lippes, but for his necessarie foode and sustenaunce.

143. To one demaunding why men were liberall to geue almes bounteously to other beggers, and to Philosophiers nothing so, Mary, (quoth he) because they haue hope to see it sooner come to passe, that they shall be lame or blynde, then that they shalbee Philosophiers.

Why menne geue almes more bounteously to other beggers then to Philosophiers.

¶ Soch folkes as taken pitee and compassion vpon persones visited with affliction,) of which sorte are all beggers

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beggers for the moste part) doen thesame in consideration of the state, condicion or chaunce of this worlde, being indifferent and commen to all mortall menne in this present life. So they releue a blynd body, casting thus in their mynde: This veray selfsame thing, may in time to come, chaunce vnto my self: but of a Philosophier, they haue no soche cogitation. The saiyng hath somewhat the more grace, by reason of the impropre vsing of the latin word *sperant*, in Englishe, thei haue hope or affiaunce: for a man in processe to become a Philosophier, may be hoped for, but for the losse of the iyesight, or for halting like a creple, no man vseth to hope.

Diogenes asked, whatsoeuer it was, in the waye of almes of a feloe being a niggarde and lothe to depart with any thing: whome when he sawe long in doing, and more like vtterly to saye him naye then to geue him aught: O thou man, saied he, I aske thee for a dyning not for a diyng. 144.

¶ To expresse as nere as may be, the affinitee of the Greke vocables, τροφὴ, and ταφὴ, of the whiche τροφὴ, in latin *Cibus*, in englishe meate, and ταφὴ, in latin *Sepultura*, in Englishe a graue.

☞ As if he should haue said: What nedest thou to make so muche sticking at the matter: I doe not require thee to go hang thy selfe, but onely to geue me as muche money as may suffise to paye for my poore dynner, whiche he spake, because the feloe made as much sticking, and shewed himselfe as lothe to departe with any money, as if *Diogenes* had said vnto him: go thy wayes at ones, & hang thy selfe. All the matter is in daliyng with the Greke dictions.

To a certaine persone laiynge to his charge, that he had in time tofore, been a false coyner of countrefeite money, (for he was vppon soche a matter banished his countree, as is aboue mentioned:) I confesse (saieth he, the time to haue ben, when I was soche an one, as thou art now, but soche an one as I am at this present, thou art neuer like to be, while thou shalt liue. 145.

In the .cii. apothegme of *Diogenes*.

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Many doe rebuke in others the trespaces of youth and yet emende not their owne in their olde age neither.

¶ It was a checke to those persones, who doe in others finde great faulte at the errours and folies of youth, where as thesame doe amend and correcte their owne misdedes, no not in their old age neither.

146. To an other feloe casting him in the nose with the selfsame matter, he defended his crime by the pretexte of youth, saiynge: ☞ Yea I did in my youth many thinges moo then that, whiche I doe not nowe in myne age. For at that age I could haue pissed quickely without any payne, so doe I not nowe at this daye.

Many men doe many pointes of foly in youth which thei will not doe in age.

¶ With a Cynical circuition or going about the bushe, he signified young age, whiche doth easely and at the first assaye make water, where as old folkes be much combred with a spiece of the strangurie, that they cannot pisse, but with great pein, one droppe after an other.

☞ So meaned *Diogenes*, that in his olde age he could not possibly by anye persuasion or meanes haue ben brought to coyne false money, wherunto the foly of youth had afore brought him, through default of mature discretion.

147. *Myndus* a town in *Asia*.

Taking a iorney on a time to the towne of Myndus, when he sawe great wide gates and of gorgious or royall building, where as the towne was but a litle preaty pyle: he said, Ye towne dwellers, or ye enhabitauntes of Myndus, shutte fast your toune gates, that your citee go not out at theim.

¶ Noting the towne to be so litle, that it were possible for the same to go forth at the gates.

148. Seing a feloe attached, that hadde by priue stelthe embesleed a piece of purple silke, he applied to thesame, this verse of Homere.

Ἅλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη.

That is,

The death of purple, hath thee by the back
And by princely destiney, thou goest to wracke.

Purple death and princely

☞ It can not haue the full grace in englyshe. But *πορφύρεος* in greke, and *Purpureus, a, um*, is a denominatiue of *Purpura*: and

and the poetes doen often ioyne it for an epitheton with the substantiue *Mors*, death. Because that when a body is slaine, the gore bloud that issueth out of the wounde is of purple colour. And he called it princely destiney to dye in riche araye, or for precious and gaye thinges.

destenie. *Purpureus, a, um*, an epitheton of *Mors*.

149. Craterus the lieutenaunte or high Capitaine with Alexander the great, being a man of great welth and richesse, had of his owne mere mocion inuited and hartelye praied Diogenes to come and dwell with him: To whome Diogenes made answer. I can better be contented to liue in Athenes with bread and chese, then with Craterus at mine owne will, to haue all the deinties in the worlde.

Craterus lieutenaunt with *Alexander* the great. What *Diogenes* aunswered to *Craterus* inuiting him to come and dwel with him.

¶ Meaning that libertee (be it neuer so poore) is rather to be chosen then all the delices and iunkerie, or sumptuous fare of the ryche cobbes, to be restreined and kept short of libertee.

Libertee, bee it neuer so poore, is to be prefeered to all delices, wher libertee is restreigned.

150. * Anaximenes the rhetorician, had a panche as fatte and great as he was able to lugge away withall, to whome Diogenes came, and spake in this maner: I pray you geue to vs lene craggues some bealy to: for both yourselfe thereby shalbe well lighted and eased of your burden, and ye shall do to vs a good turne and a pleasure.

What *Diogenes* saied to *Anaximenes*, the rhetorician hauing a great bealy.

* *Anaximenes* a philosophier, the scholar and successour of *Anaximander*, & the maister and next predecessour of *Anaxagoras*.

151. As Anaximenes was on a time in making an oration to the people, Diogenes bearing in his hande, and holding out a pestle or gammond of bakon, made all the audience full and whole to turne awaye from Anaximenes to gaze vpon him. Anaximenes fuming and taking highe indignation at the matter, helde his peace, as a man destitute and forsaken of his auditorie. Then saied Diogenes, Loe, one poore halfpeny matter

matter hath clene dashed all this earnest and solemne talke of Anaximenes.

¶ Signifiyng that all his babling was of light and friuelous matters, which made not the audience very attent, or willing to geue eare vnto him.

152. Why *Diogenes* would eate as he went in the open streate.

Certain persones obiecting vnto him as a point against all good nourture, that he would go maunching and eating euen in the open streate: What meruaill, quoth he? hounger commeth on me in the streate.

¶ He made a reason, of that the logicians callen, *relatiue opposita*. If honger were not hasty on a man in the open streate, it might percase, bee a matter of shame to eate in the open streate. But by the selfsame colour he might haue defended himselfe if he did his easement or els made water in the open streate.

Relatiue opposita or relatiues, in logike, are two thinges so connexed, and mutually depending the one of the other, that thesame doe euermore either the other importe and notifie, as to being a father belongeth hauing a child, & to being a sonne or doughter, belongeth hauing a father and semblably of hongre & eating.

153. Howe *Diogenes* taunted *Plato* secretly, reprouing him for his course fare.

There be wryters that doe father this also vpon Diogenes, Plato happely finding him washing a sorte of salade herbes, said vnto him rounding in his eare. If thou wouldest haue ben rewled by Dionysius, iwys thou shouldest not after this maner washe these herbes. Diogenes rounded Plato in the eare againe, saiyng: Iwys if thou wouldest haue washed herbes for thine owne dyner, thou shouldest not in this maner haue been a Ihon hold my staf to Dionysius.

¶ But this appeareth to be a tale forged after the likenesse or example of the saiyng afore reported on *Aristippus*, as this same in like maner, whiche I will put nowe next of all.

Afore in the first saiyng of *Aristippus*.

154. *Diogenes* nothing passed on

To one saiyng, many a man hath thee in derision (O Diogenes) And theim peraduenture, many an asse (quoth he) again. The other feloe saiying

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saiyng moreouer, and thus repliyng, Yea, but thei care nothyng for the Asses, he aunswered, And I asmoche and not a iote more for theim that ye speake of.

theim that had him in derision.

¶ He attributed vnto Asses, the propertee of mocking or skorning, because thei do euery other while, by shewyng their teeth bare, as ye would saie, counterfeact grennyng and makyng mowes with their lippes. And besides that, when men doe mocke any body, thei wagge their handes vp and doune by their eares at the sides of their hed and doe counterfeact the facion of an Asses eares. So then the Asse also appereth by waggyng his eares vp and doun, to mocke & skorne folkes yet is there no bodie therwith displeased, or greued.

Seyng a young strieplyng to applie the studie of philosophie, Well doen, quoth he, the harkners of carnall beautie thou callest awaie to the beautie and goodlinesse of the minde and soule. 155.

¶ Meanyng, that the partie, in that he laboured to garnishe and adourne his minde with vertues or good qualitees, and with honest disciplines, should finally, atteine to be assured of better frendes by a great waie. For there is nothyng more goodlie or beautifull then Sapience, nothyng then vertue more amiable.

Who laboureth to adourne the minde with good qualitees and honest disciplines, shalbe assured of much the better frendes.

The custome and vsage of men in olde tyme was, soche persones as had been saued from greate perilles, or misauentures to hang vp in the Temples Donaries, that is to saie, giftes, presentes, or oblacions, as agnisyng to bee the onely benefite of the Goddes, that thei had been preserued and saued harmelesse. Therefore, when to Diogenes, hauing taken a iourney into the countree of *Samothracia, were shewed the iewelles or oblacions that sondrie persones hauyng been from perishyng in battaill, from diyng by sickenesse, from beyng drouned and loste on the sea, or from any 156.

**Samos* is an Isle in the sea called *Mare Aegeum* adiacent, marching and bordring vpon the countree of *Thracia*, whiche afterwarde by reason

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of the commixtion of bothe peoples, was named *Samothracia*, as witnesseth *Vergilius*, saiyng: *Threiciam quae Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur.* This Isle was consecrate to *Iuno*, who was in thesame Isle borne, breden, and brought vp, and finallie maried to *Iupiter*. There was also an other Isle in the same sea of thesame name foreayenst *Ephesus*.

any other great hasard preserued, had offred vp: Yea, quoth Diogenes, but these would bee a moche greater nomber, if all those persones, which in like case haue not been saued, had offered vp soche giftes as these.

Diogenes supposed men to be saued from misauentures by mere chaunce and not by the grace or gifte of God.

¶ He meaned (mine opinion is) those persones that were saued from misauentures, to bee saued by very chaunce, and not by the benefite or grace of the Goddes. That in case it be to bee imputed to the Goddes, if a man be preserued, to thesame is it also to be imputed, that mo in nomber do perishe, then are escaped. There been writers that doen attribute this present saiyng to *Diagoras Melius*, a miscreaunt and a wicked despiser of the goddes. And as for the *Samothracians* wer sore blinded and infected with greate supersticion in soche maner thynges.

Diagoras a philosophier surnamed ἄθεος that is, a miscreaunt, not beleuing that there were any Goddes, ne thesame to be of any power.

157. To a welfauoured young springal, goyng on his waye towardes a feast or banquette, he saied: Thou wilt come home again worse man then thou goest foorth. So when thesame young man returning homewarde again from the banquet, had said to Diogenes, I haue been at the feaste, and yet am returned nothing the worse man therfore. Yes (quoth Diogenes) and so muche the worse euen for that worde.

χείρων μὲν οὖν

A younge man from excessiue reuelling returneth worse man, then he went thither.

¶ Notifiyng to be vnpossible, but that soche a young strepling must remedilesse from excessiue and vnsobre reuelling, come home lesse honeste, then he went thither.

☞ And that he hadde of the pottes and cuppes taken soche stomack and impudencie, as without ferther prouocation to chatte, and choppelogike with an auncient Philosophier, was a manifest argument and an euident declaration, that his condicions were rather appaired then emended, besides that it was a token of small grace, to be so blynded in foly, that he would not see ne knowlege his faulte.

Diogenes

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Diogenes asked of one Euritius some great thing, whatsoeuer it was, and when thesame (as is the guyse) saied naye to his requeste with these wordes: I will doe it: if thou canst persuade me therunto: If I were able (quoth Diogenes) to persuade thee to do all thinges after mine aduise, I had long ere this daye, geuen thee counsell to hang thyselfe. 158.

The Cynicall plainnesse of *Diogenes*, in speking his mind.

¶ In this saiyng, out take Cynical plainesse and boldnesse of speaking, and there is no great point to be maruailed at.

☞Except percase he thought requisite, to reproue the fast-holding of soche niggardes, as will departe with nothing to the poore, but with more suite and praiyng then the thing is worth.

He had been to see the citee of Lacedemon, and being from thence returned to the citee of Athenes, one asked of him (as the maner is) whether he would, and from whence he was come. Forsoth (quoth he) from very men to very women. 159.

The corrupt & effeminate maners of the *Atheniens*.

¶ Noting the maners of the *Atheniens* with sensual pleasures & delices effeminate, wher as the *Lacedemonians* wer hardely brought vp.

One asked him as he returned homeward from the Olympia, whether he had not seen ther a great companie, Yes truly, (quoth he) a very great companie, but woondrous fewe men. 160.

Much companie and fewe men.

¶ This also appeareth to be counterfaited and forged by the other saiyng, that is afore rehersed of the hotte house.

Afore in the 58. saiyng of this same *Diogenes*.

Those persones, who of a ryottousnes did prodigally lauesse out and waste their substaunce or goodes vpon cookes, on reuellers, or ruffians, or harlottes, and vpon flatterers: he auouched to bee like vnto trees, growyng on the edges or brinkes of clieffes and rockes of a downright pitche, or a stiepe down fall: the fruites of whiche 161.

Wasteful and ryotous lauessers of their goodes to what thing *Diogenes* likened.

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whiche trees no man could euer geat a taste of, but thesame were from time to time, deuoured by the crowes and the rauens.

Thei that seruen onely the throte and the bealie, are not woorthie the name of men.

¶ Mening on that one part, soche persones as seruen onelye the throte and the bealie, not to be worthy the name of men.

☞ And on the other side, goodes so wastefully spent, to be worse then cast awaye.

162. *Diogenes* auouched to be more daungerous to fal in the hands of flatterers, then of wilde beastes.

The Grekes, if they wishe to any body extreme mischiefe, or shamefull death, they do (by a prouerbiall speaking, in their toungue vsed) bidde theim go pieke theim to the crowes, in greke, ἐς κόρακας. But Diogenes of a customable wonte auouched to bee a thing muche more daungerous to fall in the handes of * flaterers that will hold vp a mans yea & nay (be it true or false) then to lighte emong crowes.

*ἐς κόρακας ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ἐς κόλακας. To light emong crowes then emong flatterers *Diogenes* alluded to the greke prouerbe, βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας, hence to the crowes and (as we saye in englyshe) to the deuill of hell.

☞ For the crowes doe not pecke but the carkesses of dead men, the flatterers deuoure men euen whyle they are aliue, be they neuer so honest and good.

¶ The pleasauntnesse of this saiyng (which in the greke by reason of the affinitee of the vocables hath an exceadyng great grace) both in latin & in english vtterly quailleth or dieth. For crowes the Grekes callen κόρακα and one litle sole letter chaunged, thesame called flatterers κόλακας. This saiyng is ascribed to *Antisthenes* also.

Erasmus in his *Chiliades* citeth *Zenodotus* for his autour, that there was a certain place of execution in *Thessalia*, called the crowes, into the which, persones founde giltie of any cause or crime of death, and therevpon condemned, were caried and cast hed long so to perishe there. The originall cause why thesaied place was so named, whoso is desirous to know, if he be learned, may at large reade in *Erasmus* vpon the prouerbe aboue cited.

163. *Of *Phryne* it is noted afore in the xli. saiyng of *Aristippus*. As touching this present *Apophthegme*,

* Phryne a naughtie packe, or a woman of light conuersation, hanged vp for a iewell, by the waye of oblacion in the temple of Apollo at the towne of Delphi, an Image of Venus, made of clene golde. Diogenes espiyng thesame Image, wrote and set this posee or testimoniall vpon it:

Of

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Of the inordinate and vicious liuing of the Grekes.

¶ For it was a plaine conuincing of the Grekes, that they were too too muche drowned in the vice of the body, that a commen strompet had gathered together so muche golde, of money gotten by soche abhomination.

the most likelyhod is, that vpon the Image that *Phryne* had consecrated, was thus wrytten: *This golden Venus hath Phryne offred and geuen vnto Apollo.* When *Diogenes* read this scripture, he wrote hard at the taile of it this addicion: *Of the inordinate liuing of the Grekes.*

There been that ascriben to Diogenes this saiyng to. When Alexander the great had come vnto him, and saluted him, Diogenes demaunded who he was: And when the other had in this maner aunswered, I am that noble Alexander the king: Mary (quoth Diogenes againe:) And I am that ioyly feloe Diogenes, the doggue. 164.

Diogenes gloried as muche in his libertee, as did *Alexander* of his kingdom.

¶ Taking no lesse pride & glorie of his libertee, that he was at no mans becke ne commaundement, then *Alexander* did of his kingdome, and crowne Emperiall.

Being asked for what prankes or doynges it had come to his lot to be commenly called doggue of euery body: Mary (quoth he) because that, on soche as geue me ought, I make muche fauning: at soche as wyll nothing departe withall, I am euer barking: and soche as be naught, I byte, that they smart again. 165.

Howe it came to *Diogenes* his lot to be called doggue.

To Diogenes plucking fruite of a certain figge tree, when the keper of the orchyarde had spoken in this maner: Vpon the same tree, that thou gatherest of, a feloe not many daies agone hanged himselfe. Mary (quoth Diogenes) and I will purifie and clense it againe. 166.

¶ The other partie supposed, that *Diogenes* being so aduertised, would haue forborne the tree inquinate or

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or polluted, in that it had borne a dead carkesse. But *Diogenes* beyng free and clere from all spiece of superstition, estemed the fruite to be no point the more polluted, or impure for that respect.

Diogenes clere voyde of all spiece of superstition.

167. Marking one that was a greate prouer of maisteries in the games of Olympia, to set an earnest iye on a common strumpet, in so moche that he turned his hed backe, and behelde her, after that she was gone paste him, he said: Loe, how a principall ram, for the toothe of Mars himself, is leed awaie in a bande (his necke set clene awrie) by a damisell, that is as common as the cartwaie.

What *Diogenes* saied when he sawe a chalenger of *Olympia* set an earnest eye on a wenche

¶ He thought it a matter of laughter, for the feloe to bee a prouer of maisteries, with pieked or chosen men of price, and thesame to be haled or drawen awaie as a prisoner, without any chordes at all, by a shitten arsed gerle.

168. Well fauoured or beautifull strumpettes, he auouched to bee like vnto bastarde or Muscadine, tempered and mixte with dedlie poison.

Beautiful strompettes *Diogenes* likened to swete wyne tempered with deadlye poyson

¶ For that thesame caused in deede at the beginnyng, delicious pleasure & voluptie, but euen at the heeles of whiche pleasures immediatly ensued endlesse dolour & wofulnesse.

169. As he was making his diner euen in the open strete: when a greate nomber stoode round about him, for the straungenesse of the sight, and euer emong made a criyng at him, Doggue, doggue: Naie, quoth Diogenes, ye be doggues rather, in that ye stand round about a manne beyng at his diner.

Diogenes called theim dogges, that stood round aboute hym while he dined.

¶ For that is one of the common propertees that dogs haue.

170. When mencion was made of a boie, in moste detestable

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detestable abominacion abused, Diogenes beyng asked what countreeman the boie was: made aunswer, by daliyng with a worde that might be twoo maner waies taken, and saied: He is a Tegeate.

¶ For, *Tegea*, is a citee of *Arcadia*. And therof is deriued a noune gentile *Tegeates*, a Tegeate, or a persone of *Tegea* borne. And the Greke vocable τέγος, is otherwile in one significacion, *Lupanar*, a brothell hous, or a place where bawderie is kepte. And thereof the Philosophier vsurped a worde of his owne deuisyng, or forgyng, and called the boie a Tegeate, of τέγος, for respecte of the moste abominable vice, with whiche he had been defoiled.

Tegea, a citie of *Arcadie*. *Tegeates*.

171. Howe *Diogenes* mocked one that from a wrasteleer fell to be a Phisician.

When he sawe a feloe now taking vpon him, to practise and minister Phisike, who had afore been a common dooer in the games of wrastlyng but in deede, was a verie slouche, and a verie dastard, he said vnto thesame: Wilt thou now by course ouerthrowe them againe, that haue heretofore ouerthrowen thee?

¶ A wrastler is properly saied, to cast or ouerthrowe any partie whom he ouercometh and putteth to the wurse. And the phisician also ouerthroweth those persones, whom he coucheth in bedde, or bryngeth to their longe home. As for the meanyng of *Diogenes* was, that the partie was now as eiuill a Phisician, as he had afore been a falseharted wrastleer. A merie ieste moche like to thissame, there is in the poete *Martialis*, of a feloe whiche from a Phisician, hauing become a fighter in harnesse, did none other beeyng *Hoplomachus*, then what he had dooen being a Phisician.

Two kyndes of casting, ouer throwing, or giuing a fall.

172. To a bastarde or basseborne boie, that had a common harlotte to his mother, and was whurling little stones emong the thickest of the people at

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at auenture, he said: Take heede sirrha & beware, lest thou hit thy father.

¶ For he was born of a common naughtipack & by reason therof, his father not certainly knowen.

173. Certain persones highly magnifiyng & praising the bounteous liberalitee of one, that had giuen to Diogenes a thing, what euer it was: And why doe ye not praise me to, saied he, that haue deserued to haue it giuen me?

¶ For to be worthie a benefite, is more then to haue giuen a benefite, accordyng to that the sentence of *Publius Mimus.*

To be worthy a benefite is more then to haue geuen a benefite.

Beneficium dando accepit, quid digno dedit.
Hymself by giuyng receiueth a benefite
Who giueth to a person worthie to haue it.

174. To one that required of Diogenes, restitucion of his robe or mantel, he thus made a wondreous feacte and pleasaunte aunswer. If thou gaue it me freely, I haue it: if thou diddest lende it me, I doe stil occupie it.

The aunswere of *Diogenes* to one that had geuen him a mantell, and would needes haue had it from him againe.

¶ Signifiyng, that he was nothing minded to restore it home again, whether it was of free gift or els by the waie of lone for a tyme, that he had receiued it. It is shame for a bodie to require again, that he hath freely giuen. And it is a poinct of inhumanitee, hastily to snatche awaie that the occupier hath neede of, and cannot well forbeare.

175. ☞ *Suppositiii partus*, are in Latine called children, that be feigned or sembled to haue been borne of that wombe foorth of whiche they neuer came (as for example) if a woman should be deliuered of a monster, or of a dead childe, and haue an other liue childe of due forme and shape laied by her in the place of thesame, or if a woman should bring foorth a wenche, and thesame conueighed away, should haue a manne childe of an other womans bearing, laied by her in stede of hir owne, or if a woman should counterfaite trauailing and labouring of childe, and haue an other womans childe laied by her, and vsed as though she had been deliuered

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liuered of it her selfe in very dede, that childe so impropreed to a wrong mother, may proprely in latin be called *partus suppositicius*, as ye would saye in englishe, a childe mothered on a woman that neuer bare it, or a chaungeling, and suche persones are euer after called *supposititii*, or *suppositi*. There is also an other latin worde, *indormire*, in englishe, to slepe vpon, or to lie vpon while we slepe. And it maie be taken in two diuerse, and in maner contrarie senses. For wee are saied in Latin, *indormire*, to lie vpon, or to slepe vpon our gooddes or treasure, for safe keping of thesame, and we are also saied in Latin *indormire*, to slepe vpon, or to lie sleping on a thing that we sette no greate store by, nor doe any thing passe on as a matte, or a couche. And in deede *Diogenes* vsed his mantell in the night season, in stede of a mattresse.

Suppositus, is also a participle of *Suppono* and souneth in englishe laid vnder as a piloe is layde vnder ones head in the night.

And so it was, that when soche a chaungelyng, as is aboue mencioned, had saied to Diogenes in skorne: Loe, he hath gold in his mantell, Diogenes laied the reproche verie well in the feloes owne necke, saiyng, Yea and therefore supposito indormio.

Howe *Diogenes* taunted a chaungeling who in skorne and derision said that *Diogenes* hadde gold sowed in the patches of his cope.

☞ Meaning the partie to bee a chaungeling, and therefore despiceable, or worthie to be contemned: wheras the wordes might in the grosse eare of the feloe, soune also to this sense, that *Diogenes* laid the mantell nightly vnder him when he slept, for safe keping of soche a precious iewel.

To one demaunding, what auauntage he had by his Philosophie: Though nothing els, saied he, yet at lestwise this foredele I haue, that I am readie prepaired to almaner fortune, good or badde. 176. What auauntage & fordeale is gotten by Philosophie.

¶ This saiyng hath scacely any smelle or sauour of *Diogenes*, although he beareth the name of it.

Beyng asked of a feloe what countreeman he was, he aunswered κοσμοπολίτης that is, a citezen of the worlde. 177. What countreeman *Diogenes* affirmed hymselfe to be.

¶ Signifiyng that a Philosophier, in whatsoeuer place of the worlde he is resiaunte, or maketh his abode, liueth in his owne natiue countree.

☞ And all the worlde to be but as one citee for man to inhabite.

When Diogenes on a time asked an almes, and 178. in

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After what forme *Diogenes* asked an almes of the commen Almener of the citie.

in speakyng to the publique almener of the citee (who is in Greke called ἐρανάρχης) he vsed none other stile but this verse of Homere.

Τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνάριζ' ἀπὸ δ' Εκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας.

That is

As for other persons, despoile of their geare
But thy handes from Hector, se thou forbeare.

¶ The festiuitee or mirthe and pleasaunt grace of the saiyng, in this poinct consisteth, that wher he should haue said ἐράνιζε, giue me your almes or, giue me your charitee, he vsed a worde of contrarie significacion, saiyng ἐνάριζε, dispoile out of harnesse, or turne naked out of the cloutes. By the name of *Hector*, noting his own self. And that person committeth plain robbery or spoile, who denieth an almes to any poor creature, being in extreme nede. And in dede, men of this ordre ben most commonly full of bribing, embesling, & purloining.

179. Strompettes & paramours, *Diogenes* affirmed to be the queenes of kinges.

Paramoures, he affirmed to be the queenes of Kynges, because thesame mighte craue of the saied kinges, whatsouer their phansie lusted, and bee assured to obteine their asking.

¶ For, vpon this he gaue to them the name of queenes, not for that thesame were pieres, mates, or feloes like with wiues of the kynges: but for that thei abused the kinges selfes as subiectes vnto theim, at eche becke and commaundement. The kynges selfes doe not at all seasons impetrate of the people, that thei would haue by exaccion, but to a paramour nothyng is denied. Of this sort & trade, mine opinion is, that the barbarous or saluage kinges were in old time.

To paramours nothing is denied.

180. How *Diogenes* mocked the decree made, by the *Atheniens*,

The Atheniens of mere adulacion or flaterie, to please Alexander, made a decree, that thesame Alexander should be taken & wurshipped for Bacchus (who by an other name was called Liber

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Liber pater.) * This honour Diogenes laughyng to skorne, saied: And I pray you my maisters, make me † Serapis to.

that *Alexander* the great should be taken & wurshipped for *Liber pater*, that is to saie, for *Bacchus*.

¶ For in thesame degree that *Bacchus* was emong those that were called ‡ *Satyri*, was *Serapis* wurshipped of the Egipcians, in the similitude or likenesse of an oxe.

☞ And *Diogenes* thought himself as truly to be thone as *Alexander* was thother.

* *Liber pater* was one of the names of *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius* the God of wines, for *Bacchus* first inuented the vse, and the making of wine; and because wine deliuereth the harte from all care and thought, when a bodie is pipe merie, *Dionysius* was emong the latines called *liber*, of the verbe *libero*, *ras* to deliuer, to ridde, to dispache, or to discharge.

† *Serapis* or *Apis* the highest and the chief God of the Egipcians, whom thei wurshipped in the likenesse of a liue Oxe. For so it was, that *Osiris* the sonne of *Iupiter*, and of *Niobe* the doughter of *Phoroneus*, being the king of the *Argiues*, first succeded the same *Phoroneus* in the kingdom of the saied *Argiues*, and when he had there reigned certaine yeres, he left his brother *Aegialus*, protectour and gouernour of the kingdome of all *Achaia*, and to winne victorie, honour, and conquest, made a voiage into Egipt, and the Egipcians subdued, he tooke to wife *Isis*, by an other name called *Io*, the doughter of *Inachus*, first king of thesaid *Argiues*, and reigned ouer the Egipcians. Emong whom, aswell *Isis* for inuenting the forme of letters, and the feact of writing, as also *Osiris* for many other roiall artes and feactes, whiche he to theim taught, were bothe honoured and wurshipped as Goddes. At laste *Osiris* was priuelie by his brother *Typhon* slain, and long sought by *Isis*, & at length found hewed and mangled all to gobbettes or pieces, not ferre from the citee of *Syene*, whiche *Syene* (as *Plinius* in the seconde booke testifieth) is situate in *Zona torrida*, so directly vnder the tropike of *Cancer*, that when the sunne being at the highest, doth entre into the saied signe of *Cancer* at midsomer (about fiftene daies afore the feaste of the natiuitee of Saint Iohn Baptiste) it lieth iust ouer the toppe of the citee, and causeth in thesame no maner shadoe of any thing at al to be seen or to appere. *Isis* caused hir husband with much mourning and lamentacion to be buried in a litle Isle then called *Abatos*, in the Marice nighe to the citee of *Memphis* (being the chief or principall citee of al Egipt next after *Alexandria*, whiche Marice was from thenceforth named *Styx*, that is the place of mourning and wailing.) But when in thesame Marice had sodainly appered to the Egiptians a certaine oxe, they esteming the oxe to be *Osiris*, fell prostrate, and kneled to it, and toke the oxe aliue and brought him to a temple (whiche afterward was called *Serapion*) where they did to him, all honour and homage, and worshiped thesame as their God, seruing him daily with gold and al precious vessels, and with all delicates mete for a king or a God to be serued withall. And called him *Apis*, whiche in that language is an oxe. And euer after a certain time, thei would cast him aliue as he was into a floode, where he should be drouned. This doen thei would go with mourning and lamentacion, and neuer ceasse seking vntill they had found a newe oxe as like in colour and all proportion of feacture vnto the first *Apis*, as might possible be. And thus from time to time worshipped the Egiptians a liue oxe as their God, & gaue to thesame first of all, the name of *Apis*, & afterward that the first was dead or the second in processe *Serapis* by a worde compouned of *Apis* and σορὸς a cophin, (soche as the carkesses of noble persons ar cheisted in, ere they be laied in their

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their graue.) And so was it first *Sorapis*, and in conclusion by chaunging the letter o into e, *Serapis*, so that *Osiris*, *Apis*, and *Serapis* is all one.

‡*Satyri*, (as the poeticall fables tellen, and *Plinius* in the fifth booke doth testifie) wer fower beastes in the mountaines of *Ethiopia*, & of the *Indes*, of exceding lightenesse of foote, and swiftnesse in renning, of the figure, shape, and likenesse of a man, sauing that thei had hornes, and had the feete and legges of a gote clouen, and full of rough hiere. And these maner monstres the olde antiquitee beleued to be the Goddes of the forestes, of wildernesse, and of all rusticall places of husbandrie. Whereof saint Hierome saieth in this maner, speaking of saint Antonie. He sawe an elfishe man, with a long croked haukes nose, and a forehead or brough with hornes sticking out, whose nether partes of the body grewe out into feete soch as gotes haue. And when Antonie, (the signe of the holy crosse premised) had in the name of God demaunded, what he was, it is reported that the other thus made aunswere. I am a mortall man of the worlde, one of the bordrers on the edge of wildernesse, who, by the gentilitee with vain errour deluded, are called *Fauni*, *Satyri* and *Incubi*.

181. Being chidden, for that he was a goer into places full of stinke and all vnclenlynesse, he saied: Why, the sunne also doeth crepe vnder houses of office, and yet is not therwith defoyled nor embrewed, or made durtie.

An honest man is not the worse for the infamie of any place that he resorteth vnto.

¶ His meaning was that the honestee of a perfect vertuous man, is nothing empeched, stayned or made worse for the infamie of anye place that he resorteth vnto.

182. When it fortuned hym to bee at supper in a temple, and mustie or sluttishely kept loues of bread, to be sette afore him: he cast the loues and all out of the temple, allegeyng, that none impure or sluttishe thyng ought to entre into the hous of God.

None impure thing ought to entre the temple of God.

183. To a feloe, malapertlie demaundyng why Diogenes, sens he had nomaner learnyng ne knowlege, professed and openlie tooke vpon him the name of a Philosophier: he saied: If I countrefaicte a Philosophier, or if I shewe any neere towardnesse of a Philosophier, euen that verie poinct is to be a Philosophier outright.

¶ Halfe noting philosophie to be a thing of so high difficultee, that euen to counterfeacte thesame, and to shewe

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shewe any towardnesse of it, is no small porcion of Philosophie. As that persone hath an high poincte, and a greate fordeale, toward being a king, that can expertly and cunningly, in gesture & countenaunce represent the state of a kyng. So in deede, whoso counterfeacteth or maketh shewe or countenaunce of a thing, doth as moche as in hym lieth, imitate and foloe al the facions to thesame belonging. And by imitacion to drawe nigh to all the facions or poinctes of a Philosophier, is a greate part of beyng a right Philosophier in deede, that is to saie, of beyng a studious and peinfull labourer, to atteigne Philosophie or perfecte sapience.

To shewe nigh towardnesse of a philosophier, is a great porcion of being a philosophier outright.

184. A certain persone brought a childe vnto Diogenes, to the ende that thesame childe might take some part of his doctrine. And so, to commende hym, that he might be the more welcome, and the better accepted of the Philosophier, the partie auouched the ladde to bee alreadie, bothe with excellente witte, and with singular good maners and behaueour highly endued. At these wordes Diogenes saied: Why, what neede hath he than of my help, if he be alredy soche an one?

¶ He gaue a shrewd checke to the vnmeasurable praiser, who attributed to the ladde that thing for the sole atteinyng and gettyng whereof, children are at all tymes set and committed vnto the handling and trainyng of Philosophiers. It had been enough to praise and exalte in the childe, an honeste towardnesse, disposicion or aptitude, and good hope of well prouyng in soche thynges, as should be taught hym.

Unmeasurable laude & prayse *Diogenes* improueed.

Honest towardnesse or aptitude and good hope is a sufficent prayse in a childe.

185. Those persones who talked moche of vertue, and yet did not lede a vertuous life he affirmed to be like vnto the harp, which with the soune or melody, did pleasure and good to other, but it self neither perceiued, ne heard any thing at all.

Such persones as talked of vertue and lyued not vertuously *Diogenes* likened to an harp.

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1 Corinth. 13. ¶ This saiyng varieth not verie moche from the saiyng of sainct Paule, of a tinkleyng Cymballe.

186. On a certaine daie, as the people wer comyng out from the place, where sightes and plaies wer exhibited, he on his partie with all his might, thrustyng and shouldreyng, against the throung of the people, heaued shoued and laboured to get in. And beyng asked why he so did, he saied: This am I of purpose earnestlie bent all daies of my life to doe.

The better philosophier the more earnestly bent to discord from the people.

¶ Meanyng, that to doe the duetie and parte of a right Philosophier, is, in all accions or thinges to be doen, al that euer maie be to discord and to be of contrarie waies, from the multitude or common rable of the people, for because the most parte of folkes are ledde with carnall lustes and appetites and not by reason or good discrecion.

The most part of men are led with carnal appetites.

187. Beholding a yong man, bothe of apparell and of demeanure, nothing comely ne conuenient for one that should be a man: Art thou not ashamed, quoth he, to bee more backe frende to thyself, then the minde or will of nature self hath been? For she created and made thee a man, and thou dooest disguise and reforge thyne ownself into a woman.

Howe *Diogenes* toke vp a young man that apparelled & demeaned himself vnmanly.

¶ Theself same wordes maie be wellspoken of many an one, whom, where as nature hath created and made men, themselfes of their own voluntarie inclinacion, fallen from their proper nature and kind, to thabusions of swine, & other brute beastes.

188. When he sawe a certain minstrell, settyng his instrument in tune, where hymself on his owne behalf, was a lewde and vicious feloe, and of demeanure clene out of all good order and frame, he saied: Thou feloe, art thou not ashamed of thy self, that thou knowest the waie how to sette tunes

Howe *Diogenes* rebuked a minstrell of inordinate maners & behauiour.

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tunes in true corde vpon a piece of woode, & canst no skille to frame thy life, by the rewle of right discrecion and reason?

¶ This *Apophthegme* too, appereth to haue been deuised and drawen out of some others aboue written.

189. *Diogenes* thoughte that persone not worthy to liue that woulde not study to liue verteously.

To a certain feloe, who, at what tyme Diogenes moued & auised him to the studie of sapience, found and alleged many excuses, saiyng, I am nothyng apte to learne Philosophie: Why dooest thou liue in this worlde then (said he again) if thou haue no regard to lede a vertuous life?

Philosophie geueth the gift to liue verteously.

¶ For a man doeth not liue here to this ende, that he may goe vp & doun loitryng, and nothyng els: but that he maie learne to liue in a right trade of vertue & honestie. To liue, is the gift of nature, but Philosophie giueth the gifte to liue vertuously. Nature produceth vs into this worlde apt to learn, and to take vertue, but no man is alredie endued with cunning at the first daie that he is born into this worlde.

Nature produceth vs apt to learne, but not already learned

190. Howe *Diogenes* rebuked one that despised his own father.

To a feloe that despised and would not knowe, ne looke vpon his owne father, he said: Hast thou no shame to despise that persone, to whom onely and no man els, thou art bounde to thanke euen for this veraie poincte, that thou settest so moche by thy peinted sheathe?

¶ The grace of the saiyng, resteth in the collacion or comparyng of twoo contraries. For these twoo thynges will in no wise accorde, to despise an other, and to stande well in ones owne conceipte.

191. To drawe a sweorde of lead out of an ieuorie sheath.

Hearyng a young strieplyng, of a verie well fauoured and honeste face, vsyng vnhonest communicacion, Art thou not ashamed, quoth he, to drawe a sworde of lead out of an Ieuorie sheathe?

¶ Ieuorie was taken for a precious thyng in old tyme, and moche sette by. And the minde or solle of man

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The mind doth clerely appere in ones communication.

man is couered, and (as ye would say) housed or hidden within the tabernacle or shrine of the body, and doeth in a mannes communicacion clerely appere and euidentlie shewe itself.

192. Howe *Diogenes* auoided a check geuen to hym for drinking in a tauerne.

When a feloe had in the waie of reproch laied vnto his charge, that he was a drinker at common tauerns: So am I shoren at the barbers shoppe to, quoth he again.

¶ Signifiyng, that it is no more dishonestee to drinke then to bee rounded, or to bee shauen. And as no man findeth faulte at beyng shauen in a barbers shoppe, because it is a place for that thyng purposely ordeined, so it ought not to bee thought a thing vnhonest, if a body drinke in a common tauerne, so that he drinke with measure and with reason: for to take excesse of drinke, in what place soeuer it be, is a thyng shamefull & abhominable.

To take excesse of drinke is euerywhere abhominable.

193. The answer of *Diogenes* to one obiecting that he had taken a cope of *Philippus*.

To one reprochfully casting in his nose that he had taken a Cope or a Mantell, of Philippus the kyng, he aunswered with a verse of Homere in this maner.

οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα.

Giftes of honour are not to be refused,
With the which men ar by the gods endued.

The defense of *Erasmus* for taking giftes & rewardes of noble men or of bishops.

¶ That *Homerus* wrote of the beautie and fauour of the bodie (whiche is the benefite and gifte of God) that did *Diogenes* wreste to a mantell, giuen him by a king. Thesame verse might euen I my self also, ring in the eares of soche persones, as do by a wrongfull querele obiecte vnto me, that I do now and then take of noble men or of bishoppes, soche thinges as be giuen me for to doe me honestee. There is not one of them, of whom I haue at any time in all my life craued any thyng, either by plaine wordes, or by other meanes, but in deede soche thinges as thesame of their owne voluntary willes and mere mocions, doe laye in my

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my lappe, I receiue gladly with al my heart, not so greatly for rewardes to the enriching of my purse, as for testimonies of their beneuolence and fauour towardes me, especially sence their habilitees are of more welthie enduemente, then to wrynge at the abatement of so smal a porcion as commeth to my snapshare.

☞ In the thirde boke of *Homere* his *Ilias*, *Hector*, rebuking his brother *Paris*, emong other wordes of reproch saieth vnto him in skorne & derision after this maner.

Your harpe and singyng melodious
With the other giftes of Venus
As, your goodlie heere, and aungels face,
So amiable, and full of grace,
Will not you saue, ne helpe, this is iuste,
When ye must lye toppleyng in the duste.

To whiche poinct, emong other thinges, *Paris* maketh aunswere after this sorte.

Thou doest naught, to entwite me thus,
And with soche wordes opprobrious
To vpbraid the giftes amorous
Of the glittreyng Goddesse Venus.
Neither ought a man in any wise
Proudely to refuse or els despise
Any giftes of grace and honour,
Whiche the Goddes of their mere fauour
Conferren, after their best likyng,
And no man hath of his owne takyng.

Diogenes curiously and with earnest diligence, teaching a lesson of refreining angre, a certaine saucie or knappishe young springall (as ye would saie, to take a proof and triall, whether the Philosophier would in deede shew and performe, that he taught in wordes) spetted euen in the verie face of hym. This thyng Diogenes tooke coldely and wisely, saiyng: In deede I am not angrie hitherto, but yet by sainct Marie, I begin to doubt, whether I ought now of congruence to bee angrie, or not. 194.

The pacience of *Diogenes*.

☞ He

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☞ He meaned that sharplie to punishe soche a saucie pranke of a lewd boie, had been a deede of almes, and of charitee.

195. Yiyng a certain persone humblie crouching and kneling to a woman of euill conuersacion of her body, for to impetrate that he desired, he said: What menest thou wretched creature that thou art? It wer moche better for thee, not to obtein that thou suest for.

To be reiected of a strompet, is a more happie thing then to be taken to fauour.

¶ To bee reiected and to haue a naie of a stroumpet is a more happie thing, then to bee taken to grace and fauour. And yet many one maketh instaunt suite to purchase their own harme and buien thesame full dere.

196. Swete sauours of the body, do cause a mans life to stinke.

To a certain persone hauyng his heere perfumed with sweete oiles: Beware sirrha quoth he, lest the sweete smelling of thy hedde, cause thy life to stinke.

A mans fame is the chief odoure that he smelleth of. Continually to smell of sweete odours is an euill sauour in a man.

¶ The Greke vocables, that giuen all the grace to the saiyng, are εὐωδία, fragraunt odour, and δυσωδία, ranke stenche. For swete oiles or pouthers, in one that should be a man, plainly argueth womanly tendernesse & nicitee of the life. And thesame of euery persone, is (as ye would saie) the odour that he smelleth of. A moche like saiyng hath the Poete *Martialis*.

Neuole, non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.

O Neuolus, that man smelleth ill,
That smelleth of sweete odours euer still.

197. Masters being vicious persons and voide of grace, doe liue in worse seruitude then their boundseruants

Betwene bondeseruauntes, and their maisters, beyng vicious and euill persons he auouched to be none other poinct of difference, besides the names, sauing that the drudges or slaues, did seruice vnto their maisters, and the maisters vnto naughtie appetites.

Whoso is led with euery pangue of natural mocions, hath many

¶ Signifiyng, bothe parties to be bondseruauntes, and yet of bothe, the maisters to liue in more miserable state of bondage then the slaues: in case the maisters be vicious persones & euill disposed, or voide of grace. For

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For whoso is led by the direccion of the corrupte mocions or appetites of the minde, hath many maisters to serue, and thesame bothe detestable, and also mercilesse, and voide of all pietee.

maisters to serue, & the same detestable & mercilesse maisters.

¶ Bondseruauntes, namely soche as be ren awayes are called in greke ἀνδράποδα, which vocable semeth to be compouned of ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς a man, & of ποῦς ποδὸς, a foote. Albeit the grammarians declare another maner proprietee of signification, for they saien theim to be called ἀνδράποδα, because that bondmen are in respecte and comparison, the feete of their maisters, and these as the heads of the seruauntes. 198.

So when a feloe, full of vngraciousnesse and of lewde disposition had demaunded of Diogenes, vpon what original cause, bondseruauntes that would ren away from their maisters, were called by the name of ἀνδράποδα, Marie, (quoth he) because they haue the feete of men, and a minde or herte of soche disposition as thy selfe hast at this present, which mouest the question.

Why fugitiue bondmen are called ἀνδράποδα in Greke

¶ Meaning that the partie had the mynde or stomake, not of a man, but of a very brute and saluage beaste.

Of one that was a prodigal and wastfull spender of al that euer he had, he asked fourty shillinges at ones, in the waye of almes. The partie meruailing at his earnest and importune crauing, asked this question of Diogenes: Where as thy vse & custome is of other men to desire an almes of an halfpeny, vpon what occasion doest thou aske of me the summe of a whole pound or two? Marie, said he again, because that of others, I am in good hope after one almes to haue another again at another season: but whether I shall euer haue anye more almes of thee, after this one time 199.

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Why *Diogenes* of a prodigall waster of his goodes, asked an almes of xl. s. at ones.

time, or not, θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, that is, lieth in Gods hand onely, or must bee as pleaseth God.

¶ For that halfe verse of Homere, he lynked to his saiyng, to make it perfect, because it made so directly and was so fit for his purpose. And in dede a good plain maner of knowledge geuing, it was and a shrewd lilkelihood, to be toward and euen at hand, to light on the necke of soch a wastful consumer of his goodes within few daies to be brought to soch extreme penurie, that he should not haue so moch as one poore halfpeny left to comfort or helpe himselfe withall.

200. Certain persones laiyng to him in reproche, that he was a commen crauer, and asker of thinges at euery body his hande, where as Plato being a Philosophier (as he was) did not so, he saied: Well, Plato is a crauer as well as I,

Diogenes saied that *Plato* was a priue crauer and he an open asker.

But laiyng his head to another mans eare,
That no straunge persones may it heare.

¶ For that is the englishe of this greke verse of Homerus.

Odyssæ, a. ἄγχι σχὼν κεφαλὴν ἵνα μὴ πευθοίατ' οἱ ἄλλοι, whiche verse *Diogenes* abused in an other sense then *Homerus* did, to signifie that *Plato* was euen as great a begger and poller as he was, sauing that *Plato* did craue priuely whispering in mens eares, & he apertly, making no counsail of it.

201. Espiyng a feloe shooting very euill at his marke, he sate him down euen hard by the prick: and to soche persones as demaunded the cause of his so doing, he saied, lest he should by some chaunce hitte me.

Merily spoken.

¶ Signifiyng, that the feloe was like to hitte what soeuer other thing it were, sooner then the marke: yet other lokers on conueighen themselfes aside as ferre as possible is, wyde from the marke, for feare of catching a clappe.

Those

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Those persones that shote or cast wide of their marke, or other wyse misse to hitte it, are saied properly in greke ἁτυχεῖν, to lese their shotte or cast, or to shoote or cast awrie. But Diogenes auouched plainlie, not those persons to misse to lese their shot or to hitte awrie, that wer wide or short of their marke, but them that directed and leuelled their cares & studies, toward sensuall pleasures, as toward their marke or butte. 202.

What persons shoote or cast all awry.

¶ For, by soche pleasures, thei seeke and desire to haue perfecte beatitude, wheras by meanes of thesame, thei fall or tumble doune, into the moste deepe pitte of miserie and wofulnesse.

Through sensualitee menne fall into the deepe pit of miserie and wretchednesse.

Beeyng asked the question whether death were an eiuill thyng: By what meanes possible should it bee eiuill, quoth he, sens that we feele it not, at the verie houre when it is come? And when it is awaie, it is euil or harme to no bodie. As long as a manne hath perfecte sense and feelyng, he is aliue, so then death is not yet in place, that if thesame be present, then sense and feelyng is awaie. And eiuill is it not, that is not felt. 203.

Howe *Diogenes* argued death not to bee an euill thing.

¶ This maner of argumentacion or reasoning certain writers ascriben to *Epicurus*. And in deede death it self is not euil, but the iourney or passage to death is pieteous and full of miserie. Of thesame iourney if we stande in feare, all the whole life of man, what other thyng is it, but a passage or iourney toward death?

Thei tellen that Alexander the greate, standyng at the elbowe of Diogenes, demaunded of thesame, whether he were in any drede or feare of him. Then saied the other again, Why, what art thou, a good thing, or an euill thing? Alexander aunswered: A good thing. And who standeth in drede of a good thing (quoth Diogenes?) 204.

The answer of *Diogenes* to *Alexander* demaunding whether he stode in drede of him.

He

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¶ He plainly conuinced that a king was not to be feared, except he would to all the worlde denounce himself to be an euill or a mischieuous persone. But if that wer a sufficient good argument, he might therby haue gathered & concluded that God were not to be feared.

205. Howe *Diogenes* commended erudicion to al men.

Erudicion or learning, Diogenes by these wordes commended vnto all men, alleging that thesame vnto young folkes geueth sobrenesse, to aged persones comfort and solace, to the poore richesse, to rich men ornament or beautifiyng.

¶ For because that the tender youth, being of the owne propre inclination ready to fall, it brydleth and restreigneth from all inordinate demeanure, the incommoditees or displeasures of a mans later daies, it easeth with honeste pastimes and recreation, vnto poore folkes it is sure costage to liue by (for they that are learned, be neuer destitute of necessaries.) And the substaunce of welthie persones, it doth gaily vernishe and adourne.

206. Of the self-same *Didymo* afore in the cviii. saiyng of this *Diogenes*.

The Greke vocable κόρη, doth indifferently betoken the balle of the eie, and a virgin or a maiden. And so it was, that one Didymo, (who was in great slaundre or infamie, and had in euery bodies mouth a very euill name of being a muttonmongre) had in cure the iye of a certain young damisell. To this Didymon Diogenes saied, See that ye bruise not your cure.

¶ For that waye, the saiyng maye haue some grace in englishe, by reason that the worde, cure, may be taken in a double sense, like as *Diogenes* dalied with the ambiguitee of the Greke worde, κόρην.

207. Being aduertised and doen to wete by a certain persone, that awayte was laid for him by those whome he tooke for his frendes, to thintent that he might beware thereof and prouide for himself

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himself: Why, what should a man doe (said he) if in our conuersation we shall be all in one maner case & taking, both with our frendes, and with our foes?

¶ We vse to beware of our enemies that they may not hurt vs, our frendes we do nothing mistrust. That if we shall haue nede, to be as wel ware of the one as of the other, smal pleasure or comfort it is, to liue in the worlde.

It is small pleasure to liue, if a man may not trust his frends.

Being asked What was the principall best thing in this present life, he saied libertee. 208.

The best thing in this present life, is libertee, said *Diogenes*.

¶ But that persone is not in very true libertee or fredome, who is vtterly subiect to vices: neither may he possibly be a man of perfecte fredom, that standeth in great nede of many sondrie thinges: and very many thinges wanteth the couetous persone, the ambicious persone, & whosoeuer is drouned in delices or sensualitee.

The couetous persone, the ambicious, or otherwise geuen to vice, can not be free

In scholehouses, there were comenly peinted of an auncient custome, the Muses, as presidentes and the ladie maistresses of studies. Entring therfore into a schole, when he sawe there many Muses, and very fewe scholares, he saied vnto the scholemaister: With the Goddes ye haue many scholars. 209.

¶ Daliyng with the phrase of greke speaking, indifferent to be taken in a double sense, for the Grekes sayen: σὺν θεοῖς, with the Gods, for that that we saye in English Gods pleasure being so, or by the wil and grace of God, or & God before, or God saying amen. And sometimes the preposition, σύν, which signifieth a thing ioyned with an other compaignion, as in this maner of speaking, that here foloeth, With many persones I toke thy part. That is to say: I & many persones mo besides me, toke thy part, or held on thy syde.

σύν, the preposition of Greke.

Whatsoeuer

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210. Whatsoeuer thing were not of it selfe vnhonest, he affirmed not to be vnhonest in open presence, or in the face of all the worlde neither. Whereupon he made a reason or argument in this maner & forme. If to dyne be not a naughtie or euil thing, then to dyne abrode in the open streate is not euill neither, but to dyne is no pointe of naughtinesse, Ergo, to dyne in the mids of the streete is no euill thing neither.

Whatsoeuer thing were not of it self euill, *Diogenes* affirmed not to bee euill in the open streete neither.

¶ Thus ferre the Cynicall syllogisme might be reasonably borne withal, but who could abide him that after like forme of arguing would conclude, to ease the body by going to stoole, or to make water, or one to compaignie with his wyfe, or a body to turne himself naked out of al his clothes, is no euill thing, *Ergo*, to doe thesame in the open strete is no point of naughtinesse neither: Vertuous and weldisposed persones loue honestee & shamefastnesse euerywhere.

Vertuous and well desposed persones loue honestee and shamefastnes in all places.

211. He auouched vse and exercitacion, as in outward actions concerning the bodie: right so, euen in the action of vertue and of the minde, to engendre both a certain celeritee or spedinesse of doing thinges, & also facilitee or easinesse to thesame.

Use in al things maketh maisteries.

212. It was also a saiyng of his, that neither is there any lawe without a citee or bodye politike, nor any citee or bodye politike without a lawe.

Neither is ther any law without a citee, ne citee without a lawe.

213. Noblenesse of birth, or dignitee & other sembleable enhauncementes of fortune, Diogenes affirmed to be none other thing els but the clokes or couertes of mischief & vngratiousnesse.

Noblenesse of birth or dignitee with other high giftes of fortune *Diogenes* called the clokes of vngraciousnesse.

¶ For richemen, whereas they be not one iote better then others, yet they doen amisse and perpetrate much vnhappynesse, with lesse restreint of correction or punishment, according to that, the saiyng of the Poete *Flaccus*, of a ryche persone:

Et

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Et quicquid volet, hoc veluti virtute peractum
Sperauit magnæ laudi fore.

Whatsoeuer thing, shal stand with his will,
He hath assured trust and affiaunce
To turn to his laude, be it neuer so ill,
As a thing doen by vertues gouernaunce.

Great gentlemen thinke all wel that theimselues doe.

And in deede the moste part of the galaunt ruffleers, euen at this present daye, thinke all that euer theimselfes doe, to be lawfully & well doen.

214.

Whyle he was bondeseruaunt with Xeniades, his frendes wer together in communication for to bie his fredome, and to rid him out of seruitude. No, not so, quoth Diogenes, is it not to you knowen, that not the Lions are as bondeseruauntes to those persones by whome they are kept vp, but rather the kepers as bondeseruauntes to attende vpon the Lions?

Diogenes willeth his frendes not to redeme him out of seruitude.

¶ For a Lyon whersoeuer he is, continueth alwayes a Lyon.

☞ And a Philosophier is not by his condicion of seruitude any thing the lesse a Philosophier.

215.

When he was awaked out of his mortall slepe, that is to saye, the last that euer he had before his death, and the Phisitian demaunded, howe it was with him? Right well (quoth he) for one brother embraceth the other.

¶ Alluding vnto the Poete Homere, who feigneth θάνατον, death and ὕπνον, slepe to be brothers germaine. For that slepe is a certain Image and representacion of death.

Homere feigneth death and slepe to be brothers germain.

216.

Being asked how he would be buried, he bidde that his dead carkesse should bee cast out in the fieldes without sepulture. Then said his frendes: What, to the foules of the aier, and to the wyld beastes? No by saint Marie, quoth Diogenes again, not so in no wyse, but laie me a litle rottocke

rottocke harde beside me, wherwith to beat theim away. The other eftsones replied, saiyng: Howe shal it be possible for thee to doe so? for thou shalt fele nothing. Why then (quoth Diogenes) what harme shall the tering, mangleing, or dismembring of the wylde beastes do vnto me, being voide of al sense & feling?

Diogenes neglected all curiousnesse of sepulture.

217. When Plato gaue a greate laude and prayse to a certain persone for this pointe & behalf, that he was exceding gentle and courteous towardes al folkes: What laude or thanke is he worthy, saied Diogenes, that hauing been so many yeres a student continually occupied in philosophie, hath yet hitherto geuen no bodye a corrosif?

Ouermuch humanitee in a Philosophier *Diogenes* reproched.

¶ Meaning to be the proper office of a philosophier, to cure the euill condicions or vices of men, & to be vtterly impossible thesame to take effecte, but by the only meanes of feare and of grief: feare of reproche, and greef of the open shame and slaundre present.

The propre office of a Philosophier is to cure the vices of men.

218. Thesame Diogenes, eiyng a certaine feloe of a straunge countree, in the citee of Lacedæmon, curiously trimming and decking himselfe against the solemnitee of an high feastfull daie, said: What doest thou? is not euery daie without exception highe and holy to an honest man?

¶ He meaned all this vniuersall world to be a temple for God conuenient, in the whiche man being constitute and set, ought of his bounden dutie, to behaue himselfe and to liue perpetually after an honest sorte, as in the sight & face of the deitee, who presently beholdeth all things, and from whose yie nothing is or may be hidden. And to this matter he wrested the prouerbe, in whiche it is saied: That with the slouthfull and idle lubbers that loue not to do any werke, euery day is holidaye.

To a vertuous and wel disposed persone euery daye is high and holy.

All this vniuersal world is the temple of God.

God presently beholdeth all thinges.

With idle persones it is euermore holiday.

It

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219. What goodnesse may bee gotten by the consideration of harlots facion.

It was his commen saiyng vnto young striepelinges being towardes mans state, Syrrha, go into the houses of harlots, that thou maiest throughly see, what vile and filthy thinges, how derely they ar bought.

¶ To this matter alluded *Terence*, saiyng: All this geare to knowe, is helth and safegarde vnto youth.

220. Unto the safe garde of mene it is nedefull to haue either feithful frendes or els eagre enemies.

Unto the helth and safegarde of a man, he said that it was nedefull to haue, either feithfull frendes, or els eagre enemies. In consideracion, that the one geuen a bodye gentle warning of his faulte and the others doen openly reproue and checke.

¶ So bothe parteis (in deede after contrarie sortes) but yet egually, doen to vs benefite and profite, while by thesame we learne our faultes. This saiyng doth *Laertius* appointe to *Antisthenes*, and *Plutarchus* to *Diogenes*.

221. Howe one may best be auenged on his enemie.

Being asked by a certain persone, by what meanes a body might best be auenged of his enemie, he aunswered: If thou shalt from time to time approue and trie thyselfe a vertuous and an honest manne.

¶ This poinct whosoeuer doth accomplishe, both doth to himselfe moste high benefite, and in the best wyse possible vexeth and tormenteth his enemies. For if a mans eiuill willer beholdinge his ground well tilled and housbanded, is therewith greued at the very herte roote, howe shal it be with him, if he see thine owneselfe beautified and adourned with the substanciall and vndoubted Iewels of excellent vertue?

222.

When he came to visite Antisthenes liyng sicke in his bedde, he spake vnto the same in this maner. Hast thou any neede of a frende?

Men should in affliction moste

¶ Signifiyng, that men should in time of affliction, moste of all be bolde on their feithfull and trustie frendes,

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of all be bolde on their frendes

frendes, whiche may either helpe theim in very deede, or els by geuing good wordes of comfort, ease some portion of their grief and woe.

223. Unto thesame Antisthenes, at another season (for because it had come to his eare, that thesame Antisthenes, for loue and desire that he had to liue, did take his sickenesse somewhat impaciently) he entreed with a woodknife by his side. And when Antisthenes bemoning himselfe had saied vnto him: Alas, who will dispetche & ridde me out of these my peines? Diogenes (the hanger shewed foorth) said: Euen this same feloe here. Naye quoth Antisthenes (repliyng again) I saied, out of my peines, not out of my life.

Death riddeth a body out of peines.

Antisthenes was loth to die.

224. Making a iourney vnto the citee of Corinthus, he entreed the schoole whiche ☞ Dionysius being expulsed and driuen out of his kingdome, had ther set vp. And heard his boyes saye their lessons veray naughtyly. Dionysius in the meane whyle coming in, because he thought verely that Diogenes had come to comfort him, saied: It is gently doen of you Diogenes, to come and see me. And loe, soche is the multabilitee and chaunge of fortune. Yea, quoth Diogenes again, but I meruaill, that thou art suffreed still to liue, that diddest perpetrate so much mischief in the time of thy reigne. And I see, that thou art in al behalfes, euen as lewd a scholemaister now, as thou wer an euill king afore.

What *Diogenes* entreyng the schole of *Dionysius*, saied vnto him.

Dionysius as lewde a scholemaister, as he had ben a king afore.

☞ There reigned in *Sicilia Dionysius* the father, and next after hym *Dionysius* the sonne, who for his moste horrible tyraunie was expulsed out of his kyngdome, and afterwarde receiued again, but at last, by finall exterminion banished for euer. And being expulsed from *Syracuse*, he went to *Corinthus*, and there after that he had a certain space liued a bare life, at length, for very extreme nede, he was driuen to excogitate some waye and meanes whereby to get his liuing. Wherupon he sette vp a schoole and teaching of children, and so continued vntill his diyng daye.

Another

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Another of the saiynges of thesame Diogenes was this: Emong the other sortes of men, to suche as liue in welthe and prosperitee, life is sweete, and death hatefull: & contrarie wyse, to soche as are with calamitee and misfortune oppressed, life is greuous, and death to be wished for: but vnto tyrannes both life and death are peinfull and coumbrous. 225.

Unto Tyrans bothe lyfe and death are combreous.

¶ For like as they liuen more vnpleasauntely, then those persones who doen euery daye with all their heartes wyshe to die, euen so doen they none otherwyse stande in continual dred and feare of death, then if thei ledden the moste sweete and pleasaunt life in all the worlde.

To a certaine persone that shewed him a diall: In feith, quoth he: A gaye instrument, to saue vs from being deceiued of our supper. 226.

Diogenes disallowed Geometrie with the other sciences Mathematical

¶ Meaning the arte of Geometrie, with all other the sciencies *Mathematicall, to bee to very litle vse or purpose.

*The artes or sciences Mathematicall, are, Geometrie, Musike, Arithmetik and Astrologie.

To another feloe making great vaunte of his cunning in musike and in playinge on instrumentes, he made aunswere with these two greke verses: 227.

γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,
εὖ δ' οἶκος, οὐ ψαλμοῖσι καὶ τερετίσμασιν.

By the prudent auise of men verily
The states of citees are well preserued.
With the glye of carolles and mynstrelsie,
Priuate housholding is not wel mainteined.

Housholding is not mainteined with singing & piping.

When Speusippus being impotent by reason of shaking with the palsey, was carried in a wagen toward the schoole called *Academia, and to Diogenes meting him on the waye by chaunce, had said, χαίρειν, Well art thou: So art not thou (quoth 228.

*Academia was a place full of groues, one mile from the

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citee of *Athenes*. And it was called *Academia* of one *Academus* a noble man that had there inhabited. In thesame ground was a mainour place in which *Plato* was borne, & in thesame afterward taught philosophie, of whom for that cause the Philosophiers of his sect haue been from thence hitherto named *Academici*.

(quoth Diogenes again) that wheras thou art in soch taking, canst fynde in thine herte to liue.

¶ Mening to be a point of a true or right Philosophier, of his own minde to preuente the tyme of death, after that he wer ones no longer able to stiere about and to helpe himself, as other menne did in this present life. And that thing ‡*Speusippus* did afterward in deede.

‡ *Speusippus* was a Philosophier of *Plato* his secte, brought vp vnder him, and in teaching his schole succeded him, and continued viii. yeres maister of that schole. He was *Platoes* sisters doughters sonne. At length he killed him selfe for paine and sorow being a very aged man, albeit *Plutarchus* & some others writen that he died of lice continually growling out of his fleshe as *Scylla* and *Herode* did.

229. When he sawe a little boye vnmanerly behauing himself, he gaue the creansier or tutour, that had the charge of bringing vp thesame childe, a good rap with his staf, saiyng: Why doest thou thus teach thy pupill?

It is to be imputed vnto the bringers vp, if youth proue well manered or otherwyse.

¶ Notifiyng that it is principally to be imputed vnto the breakers and instructours of tendre childhood at the beginning, if youth proue well manered, or otherwise. The reporters of the tale ar *Aphthonius* and *Priscian*.

230. Howe *Diogenes* aunswered a flagicious feloe obiecting pouertie vnto him in reproche.

To á certain persone obiecting pouertee vnto him in reproche, wheras himself was a feloe ful of naughtinesse & mischief, he saied: I neuer yet sawe any man put to open punishement for his pouertee, but for knauery many one.

231. Pouertee a vertue lerned without a teacher.

To pouertee he gaue a prety name, calling it, ἀρετὴν αὐτοδίδακτον, a vertue that is learned by itself without a teacher.

¶ Riche folkes haue nede of many rewles, preceptes, and lessons, that is to wete, to liue a frugall or sobre life, to exercise their bodies with labours, not to set their

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their delite or felicitee in pompeous or stately apparelling and deckyng of the body, & others mo out of nombre, all which thinges pouertee teacheth hir owne self without any other scholemaister.

Riche folkes haue neede of many lessons to doe well.

¶ Next after these three Philosophiers, but the same in this kynde, most excelling, we shall adde like nombre of kynges & no mo, whiche for their saiynges with ciuilitee and good facion replenyshed, haue a name of honour aboue all other kinges.

That we may not with to many thinges pestre and cloy the Reader.



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THE II. BOOKE.

¶ *The saiynges of Philippus.*

KYNG OF MACEDONIE.

Philippus king of the *Macedonians*, & father of *Alexander* the great, first conquered *Athenes* and brought all grece vnder his subiection. A manne of all writers muche praised for his greate humanitee, curtesie & most princely gentlenesse.

IF al the kinges, that emong the Grekes in auncient time haue reigned, in my sentence and mynde hath not ben one, whome we maye with *Philippus* king of the *Macedonians*, and father of *Alexander* the great, worthely compare, either in dexteritee and good conueighaunce of witte, or els in disporte of saiynges consisting within the boundes of honestee and good maner.

1.

This Philippus vsed many a time and oft to say, that him thought the Athenians to be much happie, who could euery yeare finde the full nombre of tenne sondry persones, whom to create their Capitains for battaill: where he for his parte in many yeres had founde one sole Capitaine for warfare onely, that is to wete, Parmenio.

Parmenio the onely capitain of Philippus his warres.

¶ Signifiyng to be a thing litle to the benefite of a commen weale, euery other whyle to chaunge the Capitaines, but to be muche better, when ye haue ones found a fitte or mete man for the purpose and trustie withall, in no wyse to chaunge thesame for a newe. Ferther and besides that, to make no force how many Capitaines ther be in nombre, but howe apt and mete for conueighing a battaill, and for warre keping.

Often to change Capitaines to be vnprofitable to a commen weale. It forceth not how many Capitains there be, but how meete for keping warre.

2.

When tidinges was brought vnto him, that many sondry thinges had in one daie happely and

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and prosperously fortuned on his side, and for his behouf (for at one and thesame tyme Tethrippo had gotten the price and chief maisterie at Olympia, and Parmenio had in battaill discoumfected or vanquished the Dardanians, and his quene Olympias had been brought a bedde of a sonne,) lifting vp his handes on high to heauen, he cried with a loude voice, and saied: And thou lady fortune, for so many and the same so greate good chaunces, dooe me no more but some light & small shrewd turne again, at an other season.

The praier of *Philippus* when he had sondrie good chaunces all in one daie.

¶ This man beyng of passyng high prudence, & moste profounde experience or knowlege in the course of the world, did not insolently skippe and leape, or shewe tokens of ioyfull gladnesse for his well spedyng, or for the successe of thynges, but rather did suspect and mistrust the cockeryng of fortune, whose nature he knewe to bee, that to whom she werketh vtter confusion and exterminion, thesame persones she doeth firste laugh vpon, and flatre with some vnquod prosperitee of thinges. To this matter apperteineth that *Plinius* reporteth of **Polycrates* the tyranne of the *Samians*.

The cockering of fortune is to be suspected & mistrusted.

* *Valerius Maximus*, and the other Historiographiers written, that Polycrates the Tyranne of the Samians, had liued many yeres, in soche incomparable prosperitee, that in all his affaires either publique or priuate, neuer any thing went against him, nor any mischaunce fell vnto him, in so moche that being, (as ye would saie) wearie of soche continuall successe of thinges, euen in despite of good fortune, (to the ende that it might not bee saied of him, that he neuer had in all his life any losse, or mischaunce,) as he rowed in the sea for his pleasure and solace, he willingly and of purpose cast away into the sea a golde ring with a precious stone in it, of valour vneth estimable. And yet in soch wyse did fortune flatre him, that within a daie after, his cooke founde thesame ring in the bealy of a fyshe, whiche he garbaiged to dresse for his Lordes diner, and restored to thesame his own ring again. Yet this notwithstanding, in his later daies fortune chaunged hir copie, and *Polycrates* taken prysoner by *Orontes* the high Capitain or leuetenaunt of *Darius* king of the *Persians*, was after moste peinfull and moste greuous tormentes, hanged vp on a iebette vpon the top of an high hill. The wordes of *Plinius*, whiche *Erasmus* here speaketh of, are in the first chapter of the .37. volume of his naturall historie, in maner and forme as foloeth. Of this originall begon auctoritee and dignitee in precious stones, auaunced in processe and hoysed to so high loue, desirefulnesse and fansie of men, that vnto *Polycrates* of *Samos* the rigorous tyranne of all the Isles and sea coastes of the countree in the voluntarie losse & damage of one precious stone, semed a sufficient and large emendes for his felicitee and prosperous fortune (whiche felicitee euen himselfe

himselfe would oftentimes plainly confesse and graunte of very conscience to bee ouer greate) if he might bee euen with the rolling and mutabilitee of fortune, and touch touch like, mocke hir as wel again: & that he plainly thought himself to be largely raunsoned, and bought out of the enuie of thesame continuall prosperitee, if he had had no more but this one sole grefe or hertesore, to byte him by the stomake. Being therefore clene weried with continuall ioye and gladnesse, he rowed in a vessell for his pleasure, a great way into the chanell of the streme, and wilfully cast one of his ringes into the sea. But a fishe of exceding bignes, (euen by destiney appointed to bee a present for a king) euen purposely to shewe a myracle, with a trice snapped vp thesame in stede of feeding, and by the handes of fortune awayting him an euill turne, restored it again into the kechin of the owner thesaid *Polycrates*.

3. After that he had subdued all the Grekes, when certain persones moued him & would haue had him to kepe the citees with garisons, that thei might not forsake him, or fall from him againe, he saied, I haue more will and desire, long time to be called good and easie or gentle to awaye withal, then for a fewe dayes and no longer, to be called souerain.

A reigne or empier with benefites and hertie loue holden, is perpetuall.

¶ Mening a reigne or empier, that wer with benefites and with hertie loue holden, to be for euer perpetuall that by power and dred onely, to be of no long continuaunce.

4. A certain buisie open mouthed feloe was a daily and a commen speaker of railing wordes against Philippus. And so it was that his frendes aduised him thesame feloe to exile and banishe the countree. But he saied, that he would in no wise do it, and to theim greatly meruailing why, he saied: Lest that he wandring and rouing about from place to place shall report euill of me emong mo persones.

Philippus contemned a feloe that vsed daily to speake raylling wordes against him.

¶ That he did not hange the railler vpon the galoes, was either a point of clemencie and mercifulnesse that he forgaue him, or els of magnanimitee and princely courage that he contemned him: that he would in no wyse driue him out of the countree, came of prudence. For the feloe beyng in straunge places should haue ben able to do to him the more vilanie.

Smicythus

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5. Smicythus complained to the king vpon Nicanor that he still without ende spake euill of the king. And when the frendes of Philippus aduised him, that he should commaunde the feloe to be fet, and so to punish him, Philippus aunswered in this maner. Nicanor is not the worste of all the Macedonians. It is therfore our parte to see lest we do not our duetie, but be slacke in some thing that we should doe hereupon, after that he had knowledge thesame Nicanor to be greuously oppressed with pouertee, & yet to be neglected and nothing looked on by the king, he commaunded some gift or reward to be borne to him. This dooen, when Smicythus eftsons enformed the king, that Nicanor did in al companignies without ende reporte muche prayse and goodnesse of him: Now then, ye see (quoth Philippus) that it lieth in our selfes, to haue a good report, or euill.

The clemencie and moderation of Philippus.

¶ An exceding thing it is, how ferre odde those persones are from the nature of this prince, whiche neuer thinken theim selfes to be praysed enough wheras they do nothing worthie laude or praise, neither doe they study with benefites to wynne or allure beneuolence & harty good wil of men, but haue more appetite & fansie to be dreded, then to be loued. And whereas they doe oftentimes perpetrate thinges to be detested and that in the open face of al the worlde, yet fare wel his life for a halfpeny that presumeth or dareth so hardie in his hedde, as ones to open his lippes against theim.

It lieth in our selfes, to bee wel or euill spoken of.

6. He saied, that to those, who in ordring or administring the commen weale of the Atheniens were the chief ring leders he was much bound to ough most hertie thankes, for that by reason of their reprocheful railyng at hym, thei caused hym aswell in vsyng his tongue, as also in his maners, and behauour to proue moche the more honest

Philippus oughed most hartie thankes to the rewlers of the *Athenians*, for their railling at him.

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honest man, while I endeuour my self, quoth he, aswell by my wordes, as by my doynges, to make & proue them liers.

¶ O the right Philosophicall harte of this prince, who had the waie, euen of his enemies, also to take vtilitee and profite, neither (as the common sorte of men are wont) to this sole thyng to haue an iye how to do scathe, & to werke some mischief, to soche as railled on hym, but that hymself might be emended & made lesse euil, being wel admonished & put in remembraunce of himself, by their slaundrous reporting.

The right philosophical hert of *Philippus*.

Howe to take vtilitee & profite of a mans enemie.

When he had freely perdoned and let go at their libertie the Atheniens, as many as euer had been taken prisoners in battaill at Cheronæa, and thei, not thinkyng that to be enough, required also to haue restitucion of their apparell, & all their baggage, and did for thesame entre accions of detinue, and commense suite against the Macedoniens, Philippus laughed, saiyng: What? Doeth it not appere, the Atheniens to deme and iudge, that thei haue been ouercomed by vs, at the hucclebones?

7.

Of *Cheronea* it is aforesaide & at this *Cheronea* did *Philippus* conquere and subdue al Grece.

¶ So mildely did he beyng the conquerour, take the vnthankefulnesse of persones by hym conquered & subdued who did not onely, not render thankes ne saie remercies, for that thei had been let bothe safe and sounde, and also without any penie of raunsome paiyng to escape, but also with naughtie language sued the *Macedonians*, and laied to their charges, because thesame did not also restore vnto them, bothe their apparell, and also all their other ragges and baggage. As though thei knewe not of what nature the Lawe of armes was, and as though, to trie the matter with dinte of swearde, were nothyng els, but to trie it at the *huccle bones, whiche is a game for boies and children.

The ciuilitee of *Philippus*.

The ingratitude of the *Athenians* towardes *Philippus*.

ἀστράγαλος is in Latin, *talus*, and it is the little square huccle bone, in the ancle place of the hinder legge in all beastes, sauing man, and soche beastes as haue fingers, as for example, Apes and Mounkeis, except also beastes that haue the houfe of the fote not clouen, but whole

whole. With these hucclebones they had a game in olde time, as children haue at this daye also, whiche game was in this maner. If the caster chaunced to cast that syde vpwarde, whiche is plaine, it was called, *Canis* or *Canicula*, and it stoode in stede of blanke or of an ace, and that was the lest and worste that might be cast, & the caster should thereby wynne no part of the stakes, but was of force constraigned in the waye of repele to laye downe to the stake one peece of coyne, or one point, or one counter, or one whatsoeuer thinges were plaied for, and to take vp none at al. The contrary to this (whiche was the holowe syde) was called *Venus* or *Cous*, and that was cocke, the best that might be cast. For it stoode for a sixe, by whiche casting, the caster should winne and take vp from the stakes, six pieces of coyne, or sixe poyntes, or sixe counters, &c., and besides that, al the repeles by reason of *Canis* found sleping. The other two sydes of the hucclebone wer called, the one *Chius*, by whiche the caster woonne & toke vp three, and the other *Senio*, by whiche the caster gotte & toke vp fower. In the hucclebones, there was no dewce, nor cinque. This was the commen game, but there wer other games, as there ben varietee of games in diceplaiyng, whiche dice they called, *Tesseras*, of their squarenesse. Albeit, *Tali* are sometimes vsed for *Tesserae*, and taken to signifie diceplaiyng as euen here also it may be taken.

8. When the canell bone of his throte, or his chest bone had been brooken in battaile, & the Surgeon that had him in cure, was from daye to daye euer craning this and that, he saied: Take euen vntil thou wilt saie hoe, for thou hast the keie thyself.

¶ Daliyng with a word that might be in double sense taken. For the Greke voyce κλεὶς, signifieth both a keye, soche as a cupborde or a dore is opened withall, and also the canell bone, or chestbone, that knitteth together a mans shoulder with the breste. And what thing could there be of more ciuilitee, then this the herte of Philippus, who had a pleasure to vse iesting wordes and to be mery, both in his dolorous greef, and also towardes his couetous Surgeon, neither to be for his moste peinfull smarte any thinge the more wayward or testie, nor with the importunitee of the incessaunt crauer any thing displeased or offended.

The ciuilitee of Philippus.

9. There were two brethren, of whome the ones name was in Greke Amphoteros, whiche vocable souneth in englishe, both: the name of the other Hecateros which by interpretacion soūneth in englishe, the one and the other. Philippus therfore espiyng and marking the saied Hecateros to be a prudent feloe, and a fitte man to haue doinges

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doinges in thinges, & contrariwyse Amphoteros to be a loutyshe persone, vnmete to haue doings, and a very beast: clene turned, and countreframed their names, affirming, that Hecateros was Amphoteros, and Amphoteros was to be named Vdeteros, whiche souneth in english neither of bothe.

¶ Signifiyng the one of the brethren, that is to wete, *Hecateros*, in himselfe to comprise the vertues and good qualitees of both twain, and the other brother to haue in him not so muche as one good point or propertee. Therfore the name of him that was called *Amphoteros* he chaunged to the contrarie that he should bee named *Vdeteros*, in tooken that he was for the respect of his qualitees not to be estemed worth a blewe point or a good lous.

10. Philippus called the citee of *Athenes*, the staige of his glorie & renoume, that is to saie, the place in whiche all the worlde might vieue & behold his glorie.

To certain persones, geuing him counsaill, that he should deale with the Atheniens and handle theim after a more sharpe and rigorous sort then he did, he aunswered that they did against all reason in that they aduised him, both doing & suffring althinges onely for mere glorie and renoume to cast awaye the staige of thesame his glorie and renoume, whiche he studied and laboured to achiue.

Athenes in the time of Philippus flourished with the aboundaunce of many excellent highe clerkes.

¶ Signifiying that he studied and went about, not how to destroye the citie of Athenes, but how to approue and to commend his vertues or good qualitees, vnto that right famous citee being in moste florant state by reason of the great aboundaunce and multitude of many excellent high clerkes and men of learning in the same citee reciaunte.

11. The iudgement of Philippus upon two flagicious feloes ac-

Two feloes being like flagicious, and neither barell better herring, accused either other, the kyng Philippus in his own persone sitting in iudgement vpon theim. The cause all heard, he gaue

cusing either other before him.

gaue sentence and iudgement, that the one shoulde with all spede and celeritee auoide or flee the royalme or countree of Macedonia, and the other shoulde pursue after him.

¶ Thus Philippus acquitted neither of theim bothe, but condemned both the one and the other with banishmente.

12. When he addressed to pitch his tentes in a faire goodly ground and was put in remembraunce, that there was in that place no feeding for the horses and other catals, he saied: What maner of life is this that we haue, if we must of force so liue, as may be for the commoditee of asses?

The miserable condicion of warfare.

13. When he had prefixed and appointed to take a certain castle and fortresse being very strong and well fensed, and his spies had brought word again, to be a thing out of perauentures hard to doe, Yea and (the south to say) vtterly vnpossible: he demaunded whether it wer of soche hardnesse and difficultee, that it were not possible for an asse being heauie loden with gold to haue accesse and entraunce or passage vnto it.

There is nothing but that with golde it may be ouercomed & won.

¶ Signifiyng, that there is nothing so strongly fensed, but that it may with golde be wonne. Which very selfsame thing the Poetes haue signified by the fable of **Danae* by *Iupiter* defloured, but not until thesame God *Iupiter* had first transformed himself into gold, wherof the poet *Horatius* speaketh in this maner.

**Abas* the xii. king of the *Argiues*, had a sonne called *Acrisius*, whiche *Acrisius* succeded his father in the kingdome of the saied *Argiues*, and had onely one doughter

Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat castra potentius
Ferro.

Golde hath a fansie, and great delite,
Through harnessed men, passage to ieperde,
And to make waye through tentes of might
More forceably then deynte of sweorde.

called *Danae*, a goodly and a passing beautifull ladie. And so it was, that *Acrisius* had

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had knowledge geuen to him, by an oracle, or voice coming from heauen, that he should be slaine of his doughters sonne. Wherfore he enclosed and shut vp the saied *Danae* his doughter in a very strong toure, and there kept hir, to thentent that shé might neuer haue sonne. At lengh *Iupiter* in forme of a shoure raining droppes of golde gotte *Danae* with childe. So by *Iupiter* she had a sonne called *Perseus*. Whiche thing being come to light, and being knowen, hir father set both hir & hir infant childe enclosed in a trough or trounke of wood in the wilde sea. So was she carried by auentures on the sea, vntill she arriued in *Italie*, and there *Pilumnus* the king, and graundfather of *Turnus*, toke hir to wyfe. And afterward *Perseus* being ones come to mans stature killed *Medusa*, and deliuered *Andromeda*. And at last returning to *Argos*, he slew the king *Acrisius* his graundfather (according to the prophecie) and reigned in his stede.

When those persones that wer at Lasthenes found theimselfes greued, and toke highly or fumishly, that certain of the traine of Philippus called theim traitours, Philippus aunswered, that the Macedonians wer feloes of no fine wytte in their termes but altogether grosse, clubbishe, and rusticall, as the whiche had not the witte to cal a spade by any other name then a spade. 14.

The *Macedonians* wer plain feloes in callinge eche thing by its right name.

¶ Alluding to that the commen vsed prouerbe of the Grekes, calling figgues, figgues: and a bote a bote. As for his mening was, that they wer traitours in very deede. And the fair flatte truthe, that the vplandishe, or homely and playn clubbes of the countree dooen vse, nameth eche thing by the right names.

τὰ σῦκα σῦκα καὶ τὴν σκαφὴν σκαφὴν λέγων.

It was his guyse to aduertise his sonne Alexander after a courteous and familiar gentle sort to vse himselfe and to liue with the Macedonians, and through beneuolence & hertie loue in the meane time purchaced abrode emong the comminaltie, to gather vnto him mighte and puissaunce, while during the time of an other mans reigne it lay in him without any his harm or hinderaunce to shewe humanitee and gentlenesse. 15.

A good lesson to all younge princes.

¶ Like a prudent and an expert man right well perceiuing and vnderstanding, like as an empier by no earthly thyng better or more fermely to be establyshed, then by the hertie loue and good will of the subiectes towardes their prince, euen so, to be a thing of moste highe

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A kyng maye not to all persones without exception shew fauour.

Haynous transgressions must of necessitee be suppressed by due correction & punishement.

Kinges must so ferre extend fauour, that thei may in the mean time not empeche their autoritee and state royall.

highe difficultee & hardnesse for any persone that hath ones taken vpon him the office of a king, & hath nowe alreadie in hande the gouernaunce and ordring of a royalme or empier, towardes all parties without exception, to shewe gentlenesse and fauour, not onely because the office and power of a king, lieth in the open waye to be enuied, but also for that a commenweale may not possibly be preserued and kept in perfect good state, onlesse haynous transgressions be restreigned and suppressed by due punishement and correction. For kynges must so ferre extende humanitee and fauour towardes their subiectes, as they maye in the meane time accordingly vpholde and maintein their autoritee and estate royall. For goodnesse & fauour, without ende or measure shewed is many a time and oft the mother of contempte.

16. Thesame Alexander, he auised and counsailed, that he should winne and make frendes vnto him, all suche persones both honest and vnhonest, good and badde, as beare any rule, stroke or autoritte in the commen weale, and that the good men he should vse, and the euil persones he should abuse, that is to saie, applie to some good vse, that of theimselfes they are not apte nor inclined vnto.

Kynges must vse honest persones, & abuse the vnhonest.

The chief feact of kinges, is to reiecte no persone, but to make all persones profitable to the common weale.

Wise princes haue the feacte to make profitable instrumentes, aswell of the euil persones, as of the good.

¶ The chief and highest feacte of kinges is to reiecte no persone, but rather to applie the labour and seruice of all men to the publique vtilitee and profite. As almightie God being the only Monarche and prince of the whole vniuersall world abuseth the euil spirites and the weeked men, to the vtilitee and profite of the churche, so, princes of high wisdome and policie haue the feacte to make instrumentes as wel of the honest persones as of the vnhonest, not that theimselfes been werkers of any euill thing, by the helpe of the euill persones, but that by the eiuill, they doe punishe the eiuill. Nerethelesse, many princes there be, which contrarie

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contrarie to the right course, doen abuse the good men and vse the euil. In executing matters of cruell tyranny, thei associate and ioyne vnto theim soche persones as for the opinion of holinesse are famous & of great name, to thentent that the people should esteme all thing that they doe, to be good and godly.

17. Thesame Philippus when he laye for hostage and pledge in the citee of Thebes, soiourned and was lodged in the house of one Philo a Thebane, and besides his high entretainment in that behalf, he receiued at the handes of thesame Philo many high beneficiall pleasures. And when the saied Philo would in no wise take any rewarde or gifte of Philippus again. Naye, (quoth Philippus) robbe me not nowe (by leauing me behind hande in bountifulnesse,) of that laude and prayse whiche hetherto I haue euer had, that, yet vnto this present daye no man hath passed me, or gon beyond me in doing mutuall pleasures & benefites.

Neuer man did any thing for *Philippus* but that *Philippus* did as muche for him again.

¶ Oh an hert and stomake worthy a crowne emperial. He demed it a more high and ioly thing to haue the ouerhand in doing deedes of bountie then in the prerogatife of power.

18. When a great many hauing been taken prisoners in warre, wer in sellinge, Philippus sate at the portesale, his garment or robe short tucked vp about him, muche vncomely. And so it was, that one of the captiues that was to be solde, cried with loude voice: Be good and gracious lorde vnto me O Philippus, and graunt me pardon, for I am your frende, and my father was an olde frende of yours. And Philippus demaunding in this maner, howe so good feloe, and by what meanes is this frendship betwene vs two come about? If I may approche nerer to your grace

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grace, quoth the partie, I shall shewe you. And being here vpon licenced & bidden so to doe, as though he should haue told him some secret matter in his eare, the feloe said: Sir, let down your cape a litle more about you, for after this cutted facion as it sheweth nowe, ye sitte wondrous euilfauouredly and vnsemely for a king. Immediatly saied Philippus, let this feloe depart free. For I knew not till nowe, that he was to me in verye deede a welwiller, and a frende.

Philippus being a great king was nothing displeased to haue fault found at him.

¶ Being so great a king, he was nothing greued ne displesed, neither with the coulourable pretense, nor with the fault finding or admonicion of a feloe that was to him a straunger of none acquaintaunce: but did all vnder one, both with mutual simulation on his partie couer and keepe secrete the colorable doyng of the saied feloe, and also recompense that very slendre pointe of kyndnesse with the great and highe rewarde of free charter and dimission, when he stoode to be solde as a bondeman.

The benificence of Philippus.

19. Being on a time, by an especial frend of olde acquaintaunce, desired to a supper, in going thitherward, he tooke with him to be his geastes a great many that he happely mette on the waye as he went. But when he perceiued the partie, whiche receiued him into his house, to be sore dismaied, for that the purueiaunce that he had made, was nothinge nere enough for so great a compaignie, he sent a ladde aforehand about to euery of his frendes then present, and bid theim to keepe a corner of their stomakes for the tartes, wafrie, and iounkettes, that wer to be serued and to com in after the meat. Thei being brought in full beleef therof, while they gaped for tarte and other like confections, fed litle or nothing on the other

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other cates, so came it to passe, that the supper was sufficient to serue all the companie.

¶ With this pleasaunt mery toye, he both made his frendes beleue the moone to be made of a grene chese, and also founde a waye to saue the honestee of him that made the supper.

Hipparchus of Euboia being deceassed, Philippus by manifest tokens declared how heauily he toke his death. Whereupon, to a certain persone being desirous to mitigate and asswage his doloure, and alleging in this maner: Well, he is at a conuenient age and time departed, being nowe already wel striken in yeares, Yea (quoth Philippus) for his owne parte in deede, he is at a conuenient age departed, but to meward, long afore his daye. For death hath by preuencion taken him away before that he hath receiued at my hande any benefite worthie and meete for the frendship that was betwene him and me. 20.

Why *Philippus* so greuously & so heauily toke the death of *Hipparchus* an *Euboian.*

The liberall herte of *Philippus.*

¶ It is a very rare thing in Princes to feele the mocions and pangues of the graces, but many noble men vsen their frendes none other wyse, but euen as they doen their horses. As long as they be able to doe theim seruice they set by theim and keepe theim, when they be past occupiyng and doing any more seruice they ridde and dispetche their handes of thesame, and shift theim away. Yea and rather spoyle theim of that they haue, then doe theim good or helpe theim with condigne benefites or preferrement.

When he had secret knowlege brought vnto him that Alexander his sonne found himselfe greued, for that his father was a getter of children by sondrie weomen he gaue vnto Alexander an exhortation, in this maner. Well then, sens it is so that thou hast mo feloes beside thyselfe to stand in election for to haue this empier and to 21.

The exhortation of *Philippus* to his sonne *Alexander.*

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weare the crowne after my deceasse, so applie thyselfe that thou maiest at length proue an honest or vertuous and a well-disposed man, that thou maiest appeare to haue achiued the croune not by me, but by thyne owneselfe.

¶ This man with right princely wisdome and experience endeued, did not with swete wordes put his sonne in any comforte, but put thesame ferther in feare, to the ende that he might the more pricke him forthward vnto vertue, geuing notice and intimacion that ther was none other waye for him to conceiue any hope to be king after him, except he shewed himself a man worthy to succede in the crowne, neither to be of so great moment to attein and get an empier, as worthily to haue deserued to be a kyng of a royalme.

It is not of so great moment, to haue an empier, as to bee worthy to be a kyng.

22. He exhorted thesame Alexander that he should geue good eare and attend well to Aristotle, to whome he had been committed to be broken and brought vp, and that he should diligently applye himself to the studie of philosophie, Lest that thou doe committe and perpetrate (quoth he) many things, whiche thinges in time past to haue doen, it doth nowe repent me.

Howe Philippus exhorted his sonne *Alexander* to the studie of Philosophie.

¶ Right wel perceiued this excellent wyse prince that no man beyng vntraded in philosophie, is an apt and mete persone to be a king. Neither was he ashamed to confesse that he had through errour doen amysse in many thinges, by reason that he had not euen from his tendre babeship ben nousled in the preceptes of philosophie. For those persones, who by their own mere practise assaiyng & experimentes, doe learne to ordre & gouerne a royalme and to execute the office of a king, although they haue euen from their mothers wombe, been of neuer so excellent high witte, yet both ouerlate, & also to the great scathe and impechement of the comen weal, after long processe of yeres they

A learned kyng an vnestimable treasure.

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they grow to be good kynges. But * who cometh to the administration of a roialme, armed aforehand with the holsome preceptes and rules of philosophie, if there be in him a mynde and herte with no spice of corruption entangleed, it shall vneth lye in his power to swerue from the perfect right trade of honestie and vertue. Where ben thei now, which yalle & rore, that learning and the studie of philosophie is vtterly nothing auailable to the gouernaunce and administration of a commen weale?

* Who commeth to the office of a kyng armed aforehand with the precepts of philosophie, can not lyghtly swerue from the right trade of vertue. Thei are in a wrong opinion that supposen learning to be nothing auailable to the gouernaunce of a commen weale.

He had created and autorised one of the frendes of Antipater to be of the nomber of the iudges. But afterward, when it was come to his knowlege that the partie vsed to dye his beard and his heare, he deposed thesame again and discharged him of that office, alleging that who in the heare of his head was not faithfull and vpright, the same in publique doinges semed full eiuil worthy to be put in trust.

23. Of *Antipater* read in his saiynges.

¶ He vsed deceipt & falshod in diyng his heare, whereby was no great auauntage ne gaine to be gotten, muche more was it like that he would vse deceipte and falsehod in publique affaires, where guile dooeth at a time auauntage to a man a good pot of wine. And this ought to bee the chief care of kynges, that they put in autoritee persones vpright and void of all corruption to be head officers in hearing and iudging of causes. And howe may that possibly be, where the offices of sitting in iudgement be sold for money, and that persone appointed and made iudge, not that passeth others in honestee and goodnesse, but that cometh first to enoincte or greace the handes of him that geueth the office, or biddeth most mony for it? But with Philippus, no not the autoritee of his dere beloued frend *Antipater* might weighe and do so much, but that he deposed the suspected persone from the benche and ordre of the iudges.

Who vseth deceipt and guile in smal things is euill worthy to be trusted in higher & more weightie matters.

Sitting

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24. Sitting in iustice on the benche, he had before him, to geue sentence & iudgement vpon the cause of one Machætes, but he was so heauie of slepe that he coulde in no wyse holde vp his iyes, ne geue his mynd, as he should haue doen, to the equitee of the lawe. Whereupon he gaue sentence and iudgement against Machætes. And when thesame criyng with a loude voice, he said that he appealed from thesame sentence, the king being angrie, saied again, To whome doest thou appeale? For the worde of appealing, ☞ (Whiche is euermore from the inferiour iudge & power to an hygher) vnto kinges very odious. Then (quoth Machætes) euen to your ownself sir king, doe I appeale, if your grace will awake, and with more earnest and tendre attencion of mynde, heare my cause. Immediatly here vpon, the king arose & stood him vp. And when he had better weighed the matter with himself, and well perceiued that the said Machætes had had wrong in deede, the sentence of iudgement ones geuen and already pronounced he would not reuoke ne breake, but the summe of money, in whiche Machætes had ben cast and condemned, himselfe paied out of his own purse euery ferthing.

The equitee of the law is that the lawers callen the *Epicai*, which thei take for the moderation of all seuerite and rigour of the law, when iustice & law is ministred with fauour.

Howe *Philippus* vsed one *Machaetes* by his sentence wrongfully condemned.

¶ Loe, in one facte, how many sondrie arguments and tokens of princely vertue. He continued not to be angry with the feloe both appealing from his sentence, and also openly in the face of the court laiyng slepynes to his charge: but leasurly with better diligence he considered the matter in his own mind, being now clere voyde of all wrath and indignacion. Be this a point of ciuilitie and of princely moderacion. but that nowe ensueth, was a point of high prudence and wisedome, that by a wittie and politique deuise, the partie condemned he did in soche wyse deliuer and despetche of all losse & damage, that yet neuerthelesse he

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he did not stayne ne put to lacke or rebuke his royall autoritee in geuing sentence of iudgement, the penaltee and fyne that *Machaetea* was cast in, he priuately satisfied and paied as if him selfe had been therein condemned.

The frendes of Philippus fuming and taking high indignation, for that the * Peloponnesians did with hissing mocke and skorne him at the games of Olimpia, especially hauing receiued many benefites at the kinges hande, and with that tale pricking and stiring Philippus to auenge himselfe on theim: Why, quoth he, howe will the matter then go if we doe vnto theim any euill?

¶ Graciously and with wondrous ciuilitee turned he the argument of his frendes to the contrarie, thus: If thei be of soche frowarde nature and disposition, that they mocke and skorne those persones who haue doen theim benefite, they will doe much more annoiaunce and harme, if a bodie thereunto prouoke theim with shrewd turnes or dedes of mischief. A manifest token & proufe it was not onely of moderation or pacient sufferaunce and of mercifulnesse, but also of a certain excellent high magnanimitee, a king to neglecte and set light by the hissinges of ingrate persones.

25. *The *Peloponnesians* wer the inhabitauntes of *Peloponesus* whiche was a region of Grece, in old time called *Achaia* and now *Morea*, liyng betwen two seas, the one called *Ionium*, and the other *Aegeaum*, and with the same seas so enclosed, that it is in maner a very Isle. It was named of *Pelops*, the sonne of *Tantalus* kyng of the *Phrygians*. And *Pelops* was husband to *Hippodamia* the doughter of *Oenomaus*, king of the saied region, on whom went a prophecie, that whensoeuer his doughter maried, he should leese his life. Wherfore with all soche princes and knightes as came to sue for the mariage of *Hippodamia*, he (the saied *Oenomaus*) appointed tornamentes for life and death with this condicion, that who so could that waye winne his doughter should haue hir, who so were ouercomed should suffre death. After many wooers thus slaine and put to death, came *Pelops*, and corrupted *Myrtilus* the maister of the chairettes with *Oenomaus* promising to the same *Myrtilus*, that in case he would be his frende that he might haue victorie, he should lie with *Hippodamia* the first night. Then did *Myrtilus* sette in the chairette of *Oenomaus*, an axeltree of weaxe by reason whereof at the first ioyning it brake, and *Pelops* wonne the victorie. Whereupon *Oenomaus* killed himselfe. And *Pelops* not only obteined and enioyed the ladie *Hippodamia*, but also succeded *Oenomaus* in the kyngdome of *Achaia*. And when *Myrtilus* required his promisse, *Pelops* caused him to be cast into the sea, whiche sea of his name was called *Mirtoum*. In the region of *Pelopennesus* wer these noble and florent citees, *Argos*, *Micenae*, *Corinthus*, *Lacedaemon*, *Patrae*, the mountaine of *Malea*, liyng on the sea coste *Epidaurus*, and these countrees, *Arcadia*, and *Siciona*.

Harpalus

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26. Harpalus in the fauour and behalfe of Crates, being both his familiare frende & of aliaunce, and sued at the lawe vpon an accion of trespace for wronges and extorcion by him doen, made instaunt request and peticion vnto Philippus, that thesame defendaunt might paie the damage and fyne, but yet might for sauing his honestee be quieted and dispetched of the suite and accion, leste that being in the face of the court condemned, he shoulde haue all the worlde to raile and speake euil on him. At these wordes, better it is (quoth Philippus) that he be euill spoken of, then me to haue an euill name for his cause.

The vprightnesse and integritee of Philippus, in ministring the lawes and in doyng iustice.

¶ He was tendre and fauourable to his frendes, and beare with theim albeit no ferther then he lawfully might without empechement of the existimacion and credence of a iudge.

27. When Philippus being in the campe with his armie had slept a great long while together, being at last awaked, I haue slept in safegarde saieth he, for Antipater hath in my stede watched & forborne slepe.

Antipater the deputie and high Capitaine vnder Philippus.

¶ Declaring by that watche worde, not to bee the part of a prince, to lye in bedde all daye, or to take his full reste and slepe, especially in tyme of warre, and yet nerethelesse, that thesame may at a tyme without perell or daungier be doen, if a kyng haue a trustie and a peinfull deputie. Thus with the laude and prayse of his frende, he made a good excuse in that he had ouerslept himselfe.

Not to be the part of a prince to take his full rest and slepe, especially in time of warre. A prince maye be in securitee that hath a trustie and a vigilaunt deputee.

28. At an other season eftsons it fortuned, that while Philippus in the daye time toke his reste and slepe, a sorte of the Grekes, (whiche had in a great nombre assembled about his doore) toke peper in the nose, and spake many wordes of reproch

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proch by the king, for that by reason of his slugging they might not at the first chop be brought to his speche: then Parmenio being in presence, in this maner defended the kynge, and made excuse in his behalf, saiyng: Meruaill ye not if Philippus doe nowe repose himselfe and take a nappe, for when all ye wer in your ded slepe, he watched.

How *Parmenio* excused Philippus sleping in the day time.

Parmenio was one of *Philippus* gentlemen and a Capitaine & in very high fauour and truste with him, and after his dayes with *Alexander Magnus*.

¶ Signifiyng, that the Grekes rechelesly conueighing their affaires, Philippus brooke many a sleepe to prouide for their defense and safegarde.

29. Like as himself was mery conceipted and full of pretie tauntes, so did he muche delite in the saiynges of others, if thesame had any quickenesse or grace in theim. Wherefore, when he was disposed on a time, as he sate at his supper, to comtrolle a minstrelle plaiyng at that present before him, and talked his phansie of fingreing & striking the stringes of the instrumente: God forfende sir king (quoth the minstrelle) that ye should haue more sight and knowledge in this geare, then I.

Euery body is best iudge of his owne art & facultee.

¶ Pleasauntely and as might stand with good manner, did the feloe take vpon him to iudge in his owne arte and facultee, and yet nothing offended or displeased the king, whome he iudged to be of more dignitee & high estate, then for to contende or striue with a minstrelle about the twangyng of harpstrynges and lutestrienges.

30. Yea and the right sharpe or poynaunte saiynges of others, so it wer spoken in time and place oportune, and not toto ferre out of course, he could take in good parte. For when he was foule out, both with ☞ Olympias his wyfe, and also with Alexander his sonne, he demaunded of Demaratus a Corinthian euen at that present time

The humanitee and pacience of Philippus.

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Demaratus Ambassadour from Corinthe with Philippus.

time happely comming vnto him in Ambassade, what concorde, peace and vnitee the Grekes had emong theimselfes one with another. Immediatly saied Demaratus to him again. Iwys iwys, ye dooe of likelyhood take great thought and care for the concord and tranquillitee of the Grekes, when those that are nighest and moste dere vnto you, beare soche herte and minde towards you.

¶ What would a man in this case haue loked for, but that the king being highly displeased with the bolde and plain speaking of *Demaratus*, should haue commaunded thesame to bee had away out of his sight? Yet for all that, because the wordes of *Demaratus* meaned to reuoke him from ire and wrath, to taking better waies: the kyng pacified and reconciled himselfe at the correption of the straunger, and all indignacion and wrathe laied a parte, fell to a full atonement with all his folkes.

☞ The debate and displeasure of Philippus with *Olimpias* and *Alexander*, doth *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* shewe, in this maner: When by reason of the loue and sondrie mariages of *Philippus*, muche troublous mourmuring and fraiyng, arose and begonne within the court of *Philippus*, emong his owne folkes, in so muche that the kinges wife and the other women could scarcely abide one another, muche quereling, bralling and discord grewe and daily came in vre, euen vnder the nose of *Philippus*. Whiche grudges, quereles, debate and variaunce, the sharpenes or cursines, the zelousie, and the eagre feersenes of *Olimpias* did augmente and sette on *Alexander* against *Philippus*. Also of debate and enmitee one *Attalus* ministred a wondrous good cause at the mariage of *Cleopatra*, whome where *Philippus* had fallen in loue withal being yet a young damysell vnmariable, anon after he tooke to wyfe. For *Attalus* being vncle to the maiden being through drunken, euen in the feaste time of the mariage, exhorted and encouraged the *Macedonians* to make praier vnto the Goddes, that a laufull and right borne heire for the succession of the croune and empier might be begotten betwene *Philippus* & *Cleopatra*, with whiche thing *Alexander* being highly moued, said: Why thou naughtie vilain, what thinkest thou of vs that we are bastardes, or misbegotten? and euen with that word he caught a goblet in his hande, and cast it at the hedde of *Attalus*. Philippus immediatly thereupon arising ranne at Alexander with a naked sword to haue slain him, but (fortune beying theim bothe good ladie) what by reason of furie, and what of wyne the stripe did no harme at all. Then *Alexander* beginning to raill on his father saied This is the ioyly feloe and gaye man, whiche making preparation to passe out of *Europa* into *Asia*, and about to go but out of one chambre into an other stumbleed and hadde a great fall. After this high woordes and reasoning had in cuppes, when the saied *Alexander* had conueighed awaie with him his mother *Olimpias*, and had left hir in the region of *Epirus*, hym selfe

selfe abode and liued in the countree of *Illiris*. And at thesame season, it fortuned that one *Demaratus* a *Corinthian* a very familiar acquaintaunce and frende of *Philippus*, pretending to be one that woulde hym selfe in all causes frankely, frely & boldely saie his mynde, was come vnto *Philippus*. Of whome after they had shaked handes, and had with pleasaunt and frendly wordes salued either the other, thesaied *Philippus* enquired, how the Grekes agreed and accorded within theimselfes. To whome *Demaratus* thus aunswered: O *Philippus*, of all men lest of al it behoueth you to haue care and charge of Grece, that haue thus heaped your owne courte and palaice with so many kyndes of discorde & with so many troubles and aduersitees. Whereupon *Philippus* repenting his folye, sent the saied *Demaratus*, to desire and praye *Alexander* to returne home again, and so he did.

31. To an olde wyfe being a poor sely sole, and criyng and calling vpon Philippus to haue the hearing of her cause before him, nor ceasing with this importune and earnest prayer in maner dayly to ring in his eare, he at last made aunswer, that he had no leasure. And when the olde wife hadde eftsons cried out vpon hym, saiyng Why: then be no longer kyng neither: Philippus greatly meruaillyng at her bolde & franke speaking, did from thenceforth geue eare not onely vnto her, but also to all others like.

The office of kinges is to heare the complaintes and causes of all persones with out exception.

¶ This selfsame thing the latines doen attribute vnto Adrian Emperour of Rome.

32. Philippus, when it was come to his eare that his sonne Alexander had in a certain place shewed himself to be a cunning musician, graciously & courtisely chidde him for it, saiyng: Art thou not ashamed of thy selfe to haue so good sight in musike?

Not euery acte is meete for a king.

¶ Signifiyng that other artes then musike were more mete and seming for a king.

33. Thesame Philippus hauing on a time gotten a fall in the wrastlyng place, when in the arising again he had espied the print and measure of his whole body in the dust, he saied: Oh the foly of man, howe we to whome of nature a veray small porcion of the yearth is due, desire to haue in our handes all the vniuersall worlde.

Philippus reproued the ambicion of man in desiring empier.

¶ Would

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The ambicion of *Alexander*.

¶ Would God this saiyng had been well enpriented in the herte of his sonne, to whose ambicion and couetous desire all the whole world semed but a little angle.

34. Philippus chiding his sonne Alexander for that he laboured and sought with presentes and giftes to purchase the beneuolence and hertie loue of the Macedonians, did thus frame and set his woordes: What (the deiuill) consideration or meanes hath put soch a vain hope in thy head, & brought the into this fooles paradise, to suppose that they will in time to come be faithfull and true vnto thee, whom thou shalt haue corrupted and bought with money? What doest thou go about to bring to passe, that the Macedonians shall esteme thee to bee, not their king, but their almoyner, or pursebearer?

Beneuolence ought to bee purchased by vertue and not by giftes.

35. The Atheniens had sent an Ambassade vnto Philippus. Thesame graciously receiued and heard, to thende that he would with all possible courtesie and humanitee, dimisse the Ambassadours, he willed them to speake, in what thing he might doe to the Atheniens any good pleasure. Anon, Democharès taking the tale in hand, said: Forsouth sir, if ye goe and put your neck in an halter and hange your selfe.

¶ This *Democharès* was one of the Ambassadours, & for his malapart tonge called at home in his countree in their language **Parrhesiastes* (as ye would say in english) Thom trouth, or plain Sarisbuirie. The kings frendes at suche a carlishe aunswere fumyng and taking highe indignation, Philippus appeased theim, and commaunded theim safe and sounde to let go that same †*Thersites*. Then turning himself to the residue of the Ambassadours, he saied: Go bear word home again to the *Atheniens*, much more pride and stately presumption

**Democharès Parrhesiastes*, one of the Ambassadours sent in legacie from the *Atheniens* vnto Philippus.

The boldenesse that some persones haue,

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presumption to rest in the speakers of soche vngodly wordes as these, then in theim whiche heare thesame spoken vnto theim, and suffer it to passe vnpunished. When al is doen these are the stomakes and heartes worthy to haue empler.

plainly and without respecte, feare, acception or sparinge of any body whatsoeuer he be, to

vtter and to speake that lyeth in their stomake, yea, whether it be to geue a checke and a rebuke to ones face, or els any other wise howsoeuer it be, is called in greke παρρησία, & thereof whatsoeuer persone hath that propretee without feare or sparing to saye his minde in al thinges as he thinketh, is called *Parrhesiastes*. And soch an one was this *Demochares*. παρρησία, is in a manne the qualitee contrarie to assentacion, whiche assentation is the southing of eche bodies tale and saiynges, and holding vp their yea and nay.

†*Thersites* was one of the Grekes, and came emong the mo out of the countree of *Aetolia* vnto the battaill of *Troye:* a great gentleman born, but the worst of feacture, of shape and of fauoure, that possible might be, and a very cowarde: Whome *Homerus* in his second volume of his werke, entitleed *Ilias* (that is, of the battaill of *Troie*) describeth both in wordes and sense, much like as foloeth:

Emong all others, to *Troie* there came,
An eiuill fauoured geaste, called by name
Thersites, a pratleer be ye sure,
Without all facion, ende or measure.
Whatsoeuer came, in his foolyshe brain,
Out it should, wer it neuer so vain.
In eche mans bote, would he haue an ore,
But no woorde, to good purpose, lesse or more:
And without all maner, would he presume
With kinges and princes, to cocke and fume.
In feactes of armes, nought could he doe,
Nor had no more herte, then a gooce therunto.
All the Grekes did him, deride and mocke,
And had him as their commen laughing stocke.
Squyntyied he was, and looked nyne wayes.
Lame of one leg, and himping all his dayes.
Croump shouldreed, and shrunken so vngoodly,
As though he had had but halfe a bodye.
An hedde he had (at whiche to ieste and scoffe)
Copped like a tankarde or a sugar lofe.
With a bushe pendente, vndernethe his harte,
Three heares on a side, like a drouned ratte.

And not long after his arriuall to Troye, for that he was so busie of his tongue, so full of chatting and pratleing with euery kyng and noble man of the Grekes, *Achilles* being moued with his saucines & importunitee, vp and gaue him soche a cuff on the eare, that he slew him out of hande, with a blowe of his fist.

¶ *The*

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¶ *The saiynges of Alexander.*

THE GREATE.

IN the saiynges of Philippus there was nothing, but whiche besides the vrbanitee and pleasaunt grace, might not also auayl to good maners and honest behaueour. Neither dooe I see, whome more conueniently to ioyn vnto Philippus, then his owne sonne Alexander.

1. This Alexander beyng yet but a little boye, when his father Philippus executed many righte highe enterprises, and many right puissaunte and noble actes of prowesse, achiued with veray prosperous happe and successe: was therewithall nothing wel apaied, but to his plaifeers, and soche as wer brought vp at nourice with him, he vsed thus to saie: My father will leaue nothing at all for me. They saiyng again: Yes iwys, it is you and none other for whome he purchaceth and procureth all this same. And what good may it dooe me (quoth Alexander) if being a Lord of great possessions, I shall haue none affaires whereabout to be doing, and to be sette on werke?

Alexander euen of a child was of an ambicious and stiering nature.

¶ Euen at that age might a bodye right wel espie and knowe in him a sparke of an ambicious and actif or stiering nature towarde.

2. Thesame Alexander whereas he was passing light or nymble of body and veray swifte of foote to renne, to his father willing him at the games of Olympia to renne the race emong the others, I would sir with all my herte, saieth he, if I should haue kinges to renne for the price or maisterie with me.

Alexander very nymble of body and swift to renne.

¶ In

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¶ In this pointe also may ye euidently espie and knowe a man of haulte courage, and one that woulde not to any persone liuyng geue place, or yeld an ynche, in the triall of laude and dominacion. Himself was not yet come to be a kyng, and for all that would he not vouchesalue in prouing maisteries to be matched with any persones being vnder the estate of kynges.

The hault courage & stomake of *Alexander*.

Alexander in prouing maisteries woulde not be matched but with kinges

When a certain young woman was veray late in the night brought vnto Alexander to be his bedfeloe, the king demaunded, where she had ben so long: the woman making aunswer, that she had taried and awayted, vntill hir husband might first be gon to bedde: he called his seruaunts that had brought hir and gaue theim an highe and a sore rebuke, saiyng conueighe this woman home again, for I was not ferre from the point, nor failed but veraye litle through your default, to be made an auoutreer. 3.

¶ A passing gaie example of chastitee, on the oneside in a young man, and on the other side in a kyng, ☞ (and most of all in an *Ethnike*.) For emong theim, simple fornication was reputed for no crime ne sinne at all. And by this historie it semeth likely, that the maner and vsage at those dayes was, (as in Italie yet stil at this present daye it is) that mens wiues laye aparte in a sondrie chaumbre and bedde from their husbandes, onlesse they were at this or that season called.

A notable example of chastitee in *Alexander*.

In old time the wiues laye a part in a sondry chambre & bed from their husbandes.

To Alexander in his childhood excessiuely making incense and sacrifice vnto the goddes, and euery pater noster whyle renning to take still more and more of the frankincense, * Leonides who was his gouernour and had chief cure and charge of his body and of his bringing vp, and at that time was there present, saied: Sirrha, my childe, then shall it be meete for you with thus great largesse to make incense vnto the Goddes, when 4.

Paedagogus is he that hath the tuicion, gouernaunce, nourturing, breaking & bringing vp of a childe as wel in maniers as in learning whiche was in

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old time as wel among the Romaines as the Grekes, an honorable bothe name and function. Neither was there any noble mannes sonne, but that he had a peculiar tutour and gouernor. But *Alexander* because he was sonne to so noble a king,

when ye shall haue subdued the countree where this incensse groweth. After long processe of time, when Alexander had in deede conquered thesame countree, hauing fresh in his remembraunce the saiyng of Leonides aboue especified, he wrote letters vnto him with this clause: I send vnto thee * certain talentes of frankinsense and of casia, to thentent that thou maiest not from hencefoorth be a niggarde towardes the Goddes, sens thou art not vnknowing, that we are now conquerours and Lordes of the countree that produceth frankincense and swete odours.

and also was of singular courage, stomake & towardnes had many *paedagogues*, nourturers and scholemaisters, emong whom the chief preeminence had *Leonides*, and to him by especiall commission apperteined the principall, cure, charge, autoritee and rule ouer *Alexander*, partely for that he was a man of singular grauitee, wisdome, and seueritee of maniers, and partly because he was of nere kynred and frendship towardes *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*. Nerethelesse because *Leonides* thought the name of *Paedagogue* ouer basse and vile for a man of soche dignitee as him selfe was, *Lysimachus* had the name of *Paedagogue*, and in veray deede was he that continually attended and tooke daily peines in nourturing, teaching, and breaking *Alexander*, & *Leonides* was called his tutour, gouernour, directour, and (as ye might saye) Lorde Maister.

* Thee countree where odours growen, that is here meaned was *Gaza*, whiche was a towne of the countree of *Pallestina* or Iewrie in *Phenicia*, being a part of *Arabia*, whiche *Alexander* (as *Plutarchus* writeth) did subdue and conquere. And when he sent from thens to his mother *Olympias* and to *Cleopatra*, and to his other frends, cote armours & spoyles there wonne, he sent also at thesame time (as thesame *Plutarchus* maketh mencion) to *Leonides* his old maister, fiue hundred talentes of frankinsense, that is of our Troy weight or poyse fowertie sixe thousande and fiue hundred poundes of weight or thereabout, and of Myrrhe, one hundred talentes, that is of englishe poyse, nyne thousand three hundred poundes of weight or thereabout. For I take here a talent for the commen talent *Attique* whiche conteined of englyshe poyse thre score two poundes and one halfe pounde or thereabout.

5. When he was readie and would nedes auenture battaill vpon the souldiers of Darius at the floude † Granicus, he badde the Macedonians to feede lustely at their dyner, not sparing to fille their bealies with soche vitailles as they had, for they should be assured the morowe next folowing to suppe of the prouision of their enemies.

† *Alexander* making a viage & going with an armie royall of thirtie fowrethousand footemen, and fiue thousand horsemen against *Darius* king of the *Per-*

¶ A lustie courage, and an herte that could not faint ne be dismayed, and as touching the ende of the battaill

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battaill being in no maner doubt, mistruste, ne feare, but that the victorie should go on his side.

sians, conueighed his hoste & passed ouer *Hellespontus* (which is a narowe and veraye daungerous sea, reaching from the Isle of *Tenedus*, vnto *propontis*) & so came to *Granicus* a floudde in the countree of *Phrigia*, whiche *Phrigia* is a region of *Asia* the lesse. At *Granicus* because it was (as ye would saie) the gates of *Asia*, and for that there was none other entreaunce ne passage into *Asia* to come to the *Persians*: the Capitaines of *Darius* had so sette there souldiers in araye to resiste *Alexander*, that ther might be no waye made but with dynte of sweorde. Wherfore *Parmenio* the dere frende, the moste feithful herted counseillour and the moste trustie Capitaine of *Alexander* auised him for many considerations in no wyse to enterprise so harde and so daungerous an auenture, Why, quoth *Alexander* again, *Hellespontus* would blush for veray shame now that I haue alreadie passed ouer it, if I should be afearde to wade ouer so litle a floudde as *Granicus*, and then after that he had encouraged his souldiers to haue cherefull hertes, taking with him thirteen rayes of horsemen, himselfe flounced me into the floudde, & at length in despite and maugre the heddes of all his enemies, he gotte to the other side of the same.

Parillus one of the noumbre of Alexanders familiare frendes, desired of Alexander some dourie of money towardes the mariage of his doughters. The kyng bad him take fiftie talentes of money. And when the other had aunswered tenne talentes to be sufficient, Yea, (quoth Alexander) so much is enough for thee to take, but the same is not enough for me to geue. 6.

Parillus one of *Alexanders* familiar frendes.

The bountee & munificence of *Alexander*.

¶ Gaily and roially spoken, had not his towardnes vnto vertue ben vitiated and corrupted with ambition.

Alexander had commaunded his treasourer to delyuer vnto the Philosophier Anexarchus how muche money soeuer he would aske. And when thesaied treasourer had herde the request, and being therewith more then half astonned, had made relacion vnto Alexander that the Philosophier asked no lesse then an hundred talentes: he doeth wel (quoth the king) knowing himself to haue a frende, whiche is both able and willing to geue so great a summe. 7.

The bountee & munificence of *Alexander*.

¶ Here may a man doubte whether of these two thinges he ought rather to maruail at, the kings liberalitee in geuing, or els the vnreasonablenes of the Philosophier,

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losophier in asking, except we lust rather to call the same assured trust and confidence that he had in the kynges beneficence.

8. When he had seen in the citee of Miletus many and thesame right greate, and bowerly images and porturatures of soch persones as had tofore times wonne the victories or chiefe prices in the games of Olympia & of Pythia, he saied: And where were these so great gyauntlike bodies, when the barbarous did besiege your citee.

Apollo by one other name was called *Pythius* of the great dragon *Python*, whiche dragon to his great honour glorie and renoun, he slew with his bowe and arroes. And for a memorial of that act ther were holden & kept in the honour of *Apollo Pithius*, certain games of iusting, renning, wrastlyng, and shooting, & of the name of *Apollo* they were called *Pythia*.

¶ Nippingly did he taunte and checking the folishe ambicion of theim, who glorie and braggued of soche persones as being in greatnes and strength of body perelesse, had gotten victorie in turnamentes, iustes, wrastleyng, renning and other sembleable games made for pleasure and disporte, where as in so great perelles and daungers of the citee, there had been none at all, that could trie and shewe theimselfes to be soche ioyly valiaunt feloes.

9. Where Adas quene of the * Carians had a great delite and phantasie stil day by day, ordinarily to sende vnto Alexander presentes of cates and of iunquettes or confections dressed and wrought with great cunning, by the finest diuisers pastlers & artificers of soche thinges, that could be gotten: Alexander saied, that himselfe had of his owne muche better cookes and dressers of his viandrie, that is to wete, for dyner, his iourneyeng the night afore, and for supper, a spare and light repast at noone.

This *Ades Alexander* for fauour that he had to hir, of his own minde tooke for his mother, and so called hir, & made hir quene of the *Carians*.

The cookes that *Alexander* had to dresse his meate.

* *Caria* is a prouince in the countree of *Asia* the lesse, liyng betwene *Lycia* and *Ionia*, the inhabitauntes whereof were called *Carians*, a vile people and very abiect, in so muche that diuerse prouerbes the Grekes inuented, in reproche of their vilanie. As, *Ite foras, Cares, non amplius Anthisteria. & in Care periculum.* Of whiche prouerbes reade in the *Chiliades* of *Erasmus*.

On

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10. On a certain season, al thinges being in a perfect readines to ioyne battaille and to fighting the fielde, when he was asked the question, whether his pleasure were that any thing els shuld be doen? Nothing (quoth he) but the beardes of the Macedonians to be shauen of. Parmenio wondering what this saiyng should meane: Why, doest thou not know, saied Alexander, that there is in battaill nothing better or more apte to take holde on then a bearde?

Beardes are in battaill a great let & hinderance.

¶ He signified that fighting in warre ought to be within handy gripes, in whiche kynde of strife and triyng beardes are great hinderaunce, for that the souldiours or men of warre, may very easely be caught by the beardes and be holden faste.

11. The condicions offred by *Darius* vnto *Alexander*.

Darius offred vnto Alexander these condicions, that he should haue tenne thousand talentes of money, & besides that the empier of the whole countree of Asia to be egually deuided betwene theim twaine. When Alexander this offre refused: I would surely haue taken it (quoth Parmenio) if I wer Alexander. And so would I (quoth Alexander) if I wer Parmenio. But vnto Darius he made aunswere in this maner, That neither the yearth might endure or abyde two sonnes, nor the countree of Asia, two kinges.

The aunswere of *Alexander* concerning the condicions offred to him by *Darius*.

Alexander would nedes be Lorde of al the world alone.

¶ Here also might one allowe & commend his haultnesse of courage or stomack: if the saiyng did not sauour of a certain inordinat wilfull heddines to be Lorde alone, and to haue all vnder his owne subiection.

12. The battail betwene *Alexander* and *Darius* foughten at the toun of *Arbeles*

When Alexander was like at a certain toune called *Arbeles, to be put to the plounge of making or marring, & of habbe or nhabbe to wynne all, or to lese all (for he had to fight with a million of menne of armes wel appointed, and

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prepared to trie it by strokes) there came vnto him certain of his souldiers that bare towards him very good and true feithful hertes, and complained on their feloes, that in the campe thei made a muttreing emong theimselfes, and conspired together, of all the preaye & bootie that they should get, not to bring a iote into the kinges pauilion, but to conuerte it ful and whole to their owne peculiare profite & auauntage. These thinges heard, Alexander smyled, and saied: Sers, ye haue brought me good tidinges. For I heare the wordes of feloes mynded to wyn the victorie, and not to flee.

Howe *Alexander* tooke that his souldiers had conspired emong theim selfes to conuert all the bo-ties that they should geat, to their own priuate vse.

¶ Neither was he deceiued in his geasse. For vnto hym came right many an one of the souldiers, saiyng: Be of good chere sir kyng, and haue good herte, neither feare ye the great nombre and multitude of your enemies, they shall not be able to abyde, no not so muche as the very smell of vs.

* *Plutarchus* in the life of Alexander saieth in maner and fourme here foloyng. Immediatly hereupon was there a great field foughten with *Darius*, not (as some autours writen) in the toune of *Arbeli*, but at *Gaugameli*. Whiche worde *Gaugameli* is as much to saye, as the Camels hous. Whiche it is saied, that a certain king in forne yeares, when he had on a Dromedarie Camele escaped the handes of his enemies, builded there, and appointed to the ouersight and the charges of thesame, the reuenues of certain townes and villages.

13. The same Alexander, his armie nowe already set in araye, and appointed euen out of hand to fight the field, when he espied one of the souldiers euen at thesame present houre trimming a strop or loope to set on his darte, he put out of wages, and discharged of his roume, as one like to doe no good seruice at al, whiche then and not before begonne to make readie his weapens when it was alreadie high time to occupie thesame.

A strop is the stryng that is fastened in the mids of a darte wherein to put ones fynger when he pick-eth it.

It is an euill man of warre that will haue his weapon vnready when he should occupie it.

¶ This was to be put rather emong *Stratagemes* then emong

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emong *apophthegmes*, euen as is also this same, whereof I shall nowe next after make rehersall.

Alexander was reading a letter sent from his mother, whiche letter conteined certain secrete matters of counsail, together with false crymes surmised against Antipater. These letters did Hephæstion after his accustomed maner read together with the kyng. Neither did the king forbid him to reade, but after reading of the epistle, he pulled his signet ryng from his finger, and set it hard to the mouth of the said Hephæstion, warning thesame by thus doyng, to kepe his counsaill secrete. 14.

Hephaestion was so highly in fauour with *Alexander* that he called him *alter se*, the seconde Alexander, and vsed him as familiarly as his owne selfe, hyding from him none of all his secretes.

¶ An example of notable truste and affiaunce hauing in his frende, yea and also of passing great humanitee, in that he would these false accusacions and complaintes to be spred abrode, although in dede he loued * *Antipater* at that tyme no better then a doggue.

*At the first beginning, who

so highe in price, estimacion or trust with *Alexander*, as was *Antipater?* in so muche that *Plutarchus* in the life of *Phocion* reherseth for a thinge notable and worthy memorie, that thesame *Alexander* neuer woulde vouchsalue to shewe to any persones so muche honoure, as in his Epistles or lettres to wryte vnto theim this familiare clause in the beginning of his lettres, We grete you wel, sauing only to *Phocion* of *Athenes*, and to *Antipater*, whiche twoo persones he had in especial high regarde and honour. And *Iolas* one of the sonnes of *Antipater*, was vnto *Alexander* chief butler and cup bearer. But in the latter dayes *Antipater* lost vtterly all the fauour of *Alexander*, and was of thesame suspected, mistrusted and deadly hated.

In the temple of ☞ Ammon, when he was by the president or chief priest there, called the sonne of Iupiter: It is no meruail (said he) for Iupiter in deede of nature is father vnto all men, but of theim he taketh for his very own children in deede, especially all soche as are good and honest. 15.

¶ He did after a very humble sorte expoune the † oracle. For the ministre of the temple called him the sonne of *Iupiter* in the waye of flatterie, as if *Alexander* had ben likewyse begotten of *Iupiter* as *Hercules*

† *Oraculum* an oracle, is prorely the mind and aunswer of God by some

diuine interpreter declared, as by some Prophet, priest, or otherwyse by man.

Hercules was reputed and beleued to be the sonne of *Iupiter*. But *Alexander* confessed that *Iupiter* was of nature the autour and parente of all mortall men, but yet that thesame did agnise and knowlege peculiarly or proprely for his sonnes, soche persones and none other, as by vertue and noble actes drewe nighest, and were moste aunswerable to the nature of God. And that is, vnto al persones without exception to be beneficiall.

☞ *Ammon*, was *Iupiter* worshipped in the fourme and likenesse of a ramme. For when *Bacchus* otherwyse called *Liber pater* (all the whole countree of *Asia* nowe subdued) was conueighing his armie through the wyldernesse of *Lybia* (whiche *Lybia* is a region or coste of the countree of *Afrike*, bounding vpon *Egipt*, and sometime set for all *Afrike*,) being almoste lost for drought both he and all his armie, he besoughte his father *Iupiter* of helpe and succour. Wherupon immediatly appered vnto him a ramme, whiche ramme while he pursued, he came by chaunce to a right pleasaunt and a plenteous welle. *Bacchus* therfore thinking this ramme to be *Iupiter*, anone builded there a temple, and sette in it the Image and porture of a ramme to be worshipped for *Iupiter*. And it was called *Ammon* (as ye would saie in english *Iupiter* of the sande, because the temple was edified & builded in a sandie place) for the Greke vocable ἄμμος, souneth in english the sande. Albeit, some there be that affirmen *Iupiter* in the language of the *Egiptians* to be called *Ammon*, and thereof this temple to haue taken the name of *Ammon*. But *Pausanias* holdeth opinion, that it was so named of one *Ammon* a shepehearde, who first builded thesame temple.

16. When his leggue was wounded with an arroe in battaile, and many came renning about him, whiche had of a custome ofte times vsed to call him a God, he with a bolde and a mery countenaunce alluding to a verse of the Poete Homere, saied:

What *Alexander* said, when he was wounded with an aroe.

Alexander being wounded knowlaged himself to be a man mortall.

This that ye see, is bloud withouten oddes
Euen suche like as commeth from the Goddes.

¶ Mocking in very deede the vanitee of those flatreers, for as muche as the thing selfe declared him to be nothing els but a mortall man, as others wer. As for the allusion that he made, was to a place of *Homere* in the fifth volume of his werke entitleed *Ilias*, where it is tolde howe *Venus* was wounded of *Diomedes*.

17. Many persones highly commending and praysing the frugalitee and spare maner of liuing that Antipater vsed, who led a life very homely or grosse,

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grosse, and farre from all delices: Yea (quoth he) Antipater weareth a white mantell outwardly, but within he goeth in purple euery inche of him.

Antipater, though he sembled to liue homely, yet in deede was ambicious and stately.

¶ Noting the feigned and colourable sparing of homelinesse of the saied *Antipater*, where as he was, that notwithstanding, in very deed as ambicious and stately as the best.

18.

When he was on a daye in the winter season, and in sharpe cold weather, feasted by a certain frende of his, and sawe there a litle litle herthe, and in thesame a litle preatie small fier, he saied: Sers, either lay on wood, or cast in frankincense.

How *Alexander* noted a frende of his to playe the niggard of his woodde.

¶ Half geuing a checke vnder a colour, that the feaster or banquetter plaied as muche the niggard of his wood, as if thesame had been frankincense, wher as in soche extreme colde, euen very frankincense ought not to haue ben spared: and farther signifiyng that there was fier sufficient for makinge incense to the Goddes, but not enough to defende and kepe awaie colde.

Unseasonable husbandrie.

19.

When he supped on a time at the hous of Antipatrides, and the same had brought in before Alexander at the supper, a passyng faire damisell, being a minion doer in singyng, Alexander beyng rauished with the sight of her, was sodainly striken with hot burning loue. And anon demaunded of Antipatrides, whether he for his owne parte, were not ferre in loue with the damisell, Antipatrides plainly confessyng that yes, Alexander saied: O vngracious man, wilt thou not with all hast, haue her awaie from the table and this compaignie?

The continencie & great chastite of *Alexander*.

¶ How ferre was that hart and minde from defilyng an other mannes wedded wife, whiche stoode in so greate feare of himself, lest he should fal ouer ferre in loue with the leman of his frende, making him a supper.

At

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20. At what tyme Alexander reuersed backe again to the sea, (to departe out of his armie) as many of the Macedonians as wer sickly, maimed and feble, or impotent of their limmes, there was one persone bewraied, that had billed hymself in the nomber of the sickfolkes, whereas in deede he had no disease, nor impediment at all. This manne, when he was brought to the sight and presence of Alexander, and beyng examined, did confesse that he had made a pretext and semblaunce of a disease or maladie, for the loue of a woman called Telesippa, who was gon afore toward the sea, Alexander asked, to whom might be committed the charge, to commaunde the saied Telesippa to return backe again to the armie. (☞ Supposyng that she had been bondwoman to one or other of his soldiers.) But when he had due knowlege that she was no bondwoman, but free borne: Why (quoth Alexander) then lette vs O Antigenes (☞ for that was the feloes name) entreacte, and by faire meanes perswade Telesippa to tary still with vs. For by force or violence to compell her therunto, being a free woman born, in no wise lieth in vs.

Plutarchus in the life of *Alexander* nameth this man *Eurilochus*.

Alexander wold not enforce or compelle any persone free borne.

¶ In soche sort did he fauour the loue of a stoute & valiaunt man of warre, whom he was desirous to kepe still in his armie, that neuerthelesse he would not that freborne woman to come backe againe, but if she might bee brought in mynde so to dooe, with her owne consent and agremente.

21. When the Grekes, that tooke waiges to fight againste Alexander, vnder the baners of his enemies, were come vnder his power and iurisdiccion, as for the Atheniens, he commaunded to be laied fast in shaccles and fetters, because that, where thei might haue had waiges competent, at home

How *Alexander* vsed the Grekes which toke wages of his enemies to fight against him.

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home at the publique charges of their own citee, thei had for all that become souldiers with his enemies. Of the Thessalians also, he commaunded thesame, for asmoche as thei hauyng a right fertile countree of their own, did let it lye waste, without bestowing any tillage or housbandrie vpon it: but the * Thebanes he demised and let go at their libertee, saiyng: These poore soules are by vs put out of all together, nor haue any thyng at all left vnto them, neither citee to dwel in, nor lande to tille.

¶ So did he moderate the punishment of them all, that those persones who had well deserued to dye, he commaunded no more but to be laied in irons, & the fault of them, which might iustly make their excuse, that by verie necessitee, thei had been driuen to dooe as thei did, he laied from them, and toke vpon hymself.

The moderacion of peine ministered by *Alexander* vnto the Grekes, that had highly offended him.

* When the *Thebanes* became rebelles against *Alexander*, and had procured vnto thesame, the aide and help of the *Atheniens*, *Alexander* with a great puissaunce laied siege to the citee of *Thebes*, and yet willing to geue them space to repent their foly and by submitting themselfes to be reconciled, offered them bothe pardon that present, and from thens forth to be free, vpon condicion to deliuer into his handes *Phoenix*, and *Prothytes* (who had been thaucthors of the defeccion.) The *Thebanes* on their partie required of *Alexander* to haue deliuered to them *Philotas* and *Antipater*, twoo of the capityines of *Alexander*, and made an open Proclamacion, that whosoeuer was desirous to haue all the countree of Grece, to be set in their old state of fredome, should come and take their parte. Then *Alexander* with all his power of the *Macedonians* set vpon theim. The *Thebanes* wer nothing slacke, but fought stoutely and valiauntly against their enemies, being in nomber ferre mo then thei wer. But anon came in vpon them at their backes, others of the *Macedonians*, and so in fine were thei beaten doune, their citee taken, spoiled and destroied, bothe sticke and stone. The *Atheniens* he pardoned, and by this acte he put all Grece in soche terrour, that thei laie all quiete, and durst not ones to stiere against him.

A certaine Indian taken in the warres, bearyng 22.
name of a felowe perelesse in the feacte of shootyng, in so moche that by the common reporte and bruite that went on hym, he could as oft as hym lusted, shoote his aroe quite and cleane, euen through a ring, Alexander commaunded to shewe a point of his cunnyng. And where the partie

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partie refused so to doe, the kyng taking therwith high displeasure and angre, commaunded that he should be putte to death. As he was in ledyng to the place of execucion, he saied to theim that ledde hym, that he had not of long tyme afore practised his feacte of shootyng, and by reason thereof to haue stande in feare, lest he should haue missed. When woorde hereof was brought backe again, and relacion made vnto Alexander that the feloe had not of any disdein or frowardnesse, refused to shoote, but onely for feare of beyng openly shamed for euer, if he should haue failled, the kyng hauyng wonder at the nature of the feloe, so desireful of glorie and renoume, bothe gaue vnto the same perdone of his life, and also dimissed him bounteously rewarded, because he had been in mynde and wille, rather to suffer death, then to appere vnworthie the name and fame that went on hym.

Glorie and renoume is to many persones more sweete then life.

¶ Here it appereth not to be altogether a lie, that is so commonly spoken in the prouerbe, Like beareth fauour and loue vnto like. For *Alexander* being out of al measure desirous of renoume, loued the semblable affection and appetite in other persones.

Like beareth loue vnto like.

23. Taxiles one of the kynges of India, presentyng hymself vnto Alexander, spake vnto hym in this maner, I prouoke thee sir kyng (saied he) not to fightyng, nor yet to battail, but to an other sort of triyng maistries. If thou be inferiour to me, take som benefite at my handes: if superiour, let me receiue some benefite at thyne. To whom Alexander thus aunswered. Marie, euen for that verie pointe ought we to striue together, whether maie in doyng benefites, haue the ouer hande of the other.

This Taxiles (as testifieth Plutarchus in the life of Alexander) was a man of singulare wisedome and sapience, & had vnder his gouernance the more parte of India, enuironed with al the whole circuite of the vni-

¶ And hereupon, with al possible humanitee, embracing

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bracing the saied *Taxiles*, he did not onely not depriue thesame of his dominion, but also gaue him more to it.

uersal Countree of Egipte, a ranke ground

for pasture, and an excellente good corne countree. And of this Taxiles Alexander toke many great giftes and presentes and gaue to him as many againe, and laste of all sente vnto him for a gifte, a thousande talentes at ones.

When he had heard of a certaine rocke in the Indies, whiche by reason of the exceding heigth of it, is called in Greke ἄορνος, birdelesse, as if ye would saie, so high, that the birdes maie not get to the toppe of it. When Alexander had heard of this rocke, that the place self was harde to be wonne, but the capitain that kept it, to be a fearful feloe, & to haue no more hart then a shepe: By this time, quoth Alexander, the place is easie enough to be gotten. 24.

ἄορνος, a rock in the *Indies*.

¶ Signifiyng, that fortresses and municions dooe nothyng auaile at all, excepte an hardie mannes bodie defende and maintein thesame. For a castle, or any stronghold is not so sure and safe from enemies, by the sense of diches and walles, as by valiaunte and hardie mennes bodies.

Fortresses and municions doe nothing auaill except hardie & valiaunt mens bodies, defend and maintaine thesame.

Plutarchus thus telleth thesame historie. *Alexander* hauing with siege encoumpaced the towne of one *Sisimethres* standing on a rocke impenetrable, when he sawe his souldiers to be of heauy chere, he demaunded of one *Oxiartes*, what herte & courage thesaied *Sisimethres* was of, *Oxiartes* aunswering that he was the veraiest dastarde alyue, Well, then (quoth *Alexander*) by thy saiyng the rocke will sone and easily be wonne, forasmuche as the lorde thereof is a cowarde and no man of warre. And euen so came it to passe, for *Sisimithres* was with the onely menacing, thretning and facing of *Alexander* so feared, that he yelded and gaue vp his holde without any resistaunce at all.

An other certain capitaine, where he held, and kept a rock vnpossible to be won (as it was thought) neuerthelesse submitted and yelded himselfe into the handes of Alexander. But Alexander, not onely did make thesame partie Lord and gouernour of all that seignourie and countree about, but moreouer spake and saied as foloeth. I holde this man sapient and wise, in that 25.

Howe *Alexander* vsed a capitaine that gaue himselfe & his holde into his handes and mercy.

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that he thought better, and had more phansie, to put his trust & affiance in an honest & a good man, then in a place strong & well fensed.

26. After the taking of a certain strong holde or fortresse standing on a rocke, when the frendes of Alexander saied, that in feates marciall and in noble actes of prowesse, he ferre surmounted Hercules: Nay (quoth he) I thinke the actes that I haue dooen sens I haue been a king, are to to ferre oddes, to be in the way of comparison conferred with the thinges which Hercules did in his time.

Alexander contemned *Hercules* in respect of himselfe.

The mynde of *Alexander* no flatterie was enough to satisfie.

¶ The other spake to flatter him, but the mind of *Alexander* no flatterie was enough to satisfie.

27. Certain of his frendes he punished by the purse, and put to their fine, because he had perceiued them, in plaiyng at dyce, not to playe for pastime, as meete was.

How *Alexander* vsed certain of his frendes for being ouer earnest in plaiyng at dyce.

¶ For many there ben that bestowe and vse themselfes in this game, as if it were in the moste earnest matter of the worlde. For those persones do not playe, who doen hasarde and auenture all their substaunce at ones, yea & sometimes their sonnes and heires to, to stande to the grace and direction of the dice.

The incommoditees that come by plaiyng at dyce.

☞ At lest wyse, homely playe it is and a madde pastime, where men by the course of the game go together by the eares, and many times murdre one an other, or at lestwyse of right louing frendes, are made mutuall enemies all dayes of their life after.

28. Emong those, whome he reputed and tooke for his principall frendes, or chiefe seruauntes about him and most of power, he shewed himselfe to honour Craterus aboue the reste, but aboue all others to loue Hephæstion. For Craterus (saieth he) loueth the king, and Hephæsteon loueth Alexander.

Alexander of al his frendes and true seruaunts, moste honoured *Craterus* but most loued *Hephaestion.*

Craterus φιλοβασιλεὺς *Hephaestion*, φιλαλέξανδρος.

¶ This saiyng hath more grace in the Greke, by reason of these two wordes φιλοβασιλεὺς and φιλαλέξανδρος

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αλέξανδρος. The meaning of *Alexander* was, that *Craterus* in soch things as concerned his dignitee royall did the partes of a true faithfull frende, but *Hephaestion* of a certain priuee affection to beare his hertie loue and beneuolence towardes the persone of *Alexander*, ☞ without the respecte that he was a kyng. Wherfore these two parties, whose loue and affection towardes hym proceded of vnlike respectes, he did after twoo sondrie sortes egually rewarde, either according to his demerites. * For *Craterus* he auaunced to high dignitees, and *Hephaestion* he receiued to moste entiere familiaritee about his persone.

* So highe in dignitee and autoritee were

these two with *Alexander*, that all the *Macedonians* whiche had any sute to the court, were from time to time assigned to fette their aunswer & despetche at the handes of *Craterus*, and all the *Barbarians* of *Hephaestion*. And so highly did the kyng honoure *Craterus*, that when thesame *Craterus* was on a time sore sicke, *Alexander* did openly muche sacrifice to the Goddes for his helth, and wrote letters with his own hand to *Pausanias* his phisician, that he should with all diligence & atendaunce possible, not onely tempre drinkes and medicines for him, but also bee present with him to teache him howe thesame should be receiued.

29. Unto Xenocrates the Philosophier, he sent of free gift fiftie talentes: which when the Philosophier refused to take, alleging that he had no nede of money, the king demaunded whether he had not so much as any one frende neither, that had nede. For to me (saieth Alexander) vneth al the treasoures and richesse of Darius hath suffised to bestowe & to deuide emong my frendes.

Xenocrates refused to take money of *Alexander*.

¶ Whether of these two mens mindes is in this behalfe more worthy admiration, I cannot yet determine nor perfectly saye: either of the kyng so propense vnto liberalitee, or els of the Philosophier, whiche sent backe again so great a gifte by so great a king of his owne mere motion offred.

The bountee of *Alexander* and propense minde to geue.

30. ☞ Kyng Porus being subdued and taken by Alexander, and after the field foughten being asked by thesame Alexander this question. How shall I now handle and vse thee? Porus aunswered

How king *Porus* being taken by *Alexander*,

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& asked howe he would be vsed, made answere.

swered in this maner, Regally: Alexander ferther demaunding, & nothing els but that? In this one word, regally (quoth Porus) all thinges possible are comprised, Alexander hauyng admiration as

The humanite and moderation of *Alexander* toward kynge *Porus*.

well at the wisdome of the man, as at his haulte courage and magnanimitee, conferred vnto the same besides his owne former royalme a dominion of muche more large and ample circuitee then thesame whiche he was Lorde of before.

The affection of *Alexander* towarde hertes that would not shrinke.

¶ To the saied *Porus* humbly summitting himselfe, and falling downe at his fete, *Alexander* would not haue shewed so muche goodnesse. Soche fauour, zele, and affeccion did the courageous yong man beare towarde hertes that would not shrinke. *Quintus Curtius* telleth it somewhat of an other sorte.

Porus being at the daye of his taking asked the question, What waye he thoughte moste mete and conuenient for Alexander (by whome he was nowe conquered,) to take with him: Soche waye (quoth he) as this present daye may putte in thy minde, in whiche thou hast by experience found, how sone felicitee or high estate may haue a fal, and be brought full lowe.

That kinges may vse their good fortune with moderation.

¶ He gaue a by warning vnto *Alexander* not to be ouer proude of his good fortune, but to vse it with moderation bearing wel in mynde, to be a thing possible, that lyke chaunce might befall him, as had lighted on *Porus*.

☞ This *Porus* was one of the kinges of *India*, a stoute and a valiant man of armes, and also a man of greate puissaunce, whom *Alexander* had a busie piece of werke, and muche a doe to vanquishe. *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* affirmeth many wryters to agree in this pointe, that *Porus* was in height sixe foote and one hand bredthe, where as the naturall Philosophiers auouchen the vttermoste extente that maye possibly be of the height of a man, not to excede seuen foote. *Porus* was so tall of stature and personage, that when he sate on his Elephantes backe (for he vsed to ryde on no other beaste) his tallnesse was answerable to the greatnesse of the Elephant that he rode on, although it was a mighty big Elephant. And *Plutarchus* writeth that thissame Elephant shewed euen at that season wondrefull prudence, and no lesse wondrefull loue towardes his maister, then if

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if it had ben a creature with reason indued. For as long as the king was safe without receiuing anye wounde, the Elephaunt made great stierıng, & fought hardily against his enemies, and destroyed theim on euery syde. And as soone as he perceiued *Porus* to be sore wounded, and to haue sticking in sondrie partes of his bodie very many dartes, fearing lest he should by reason thereof sinke and fall downe from his backe, of his owne accorde he sounke downe fair and softly vpon his knees, and with his snoute tenderly plucked out of his maisters body all the saied dartes, one after an other. And in deede of Elephantes howe disciplinable and of howe great prudence, docilitee and (as ye would saie) capacitee and aptitude they are, and also what tender loue & affection they doe naturally beare towardes man: *Aristotle*, *Plinius*, and other naturall Philosophiers shewen exaumples almoste bothe innumerable and also incredible.

When it came to his eare, that there was a certain feloe, who ceassed not speaking the worste of him, Yea (quoth he) it is a thing to kinges peculiar, for their good desertes, to be euill reported. 31. No persones so muche as kings for their weldoinges are of som persons euil reported.

¶ Neuer was there any thing more noble, or of a more righte sort, then this saiyng, albeit thesame is named on diuerse others as well as on Alexander.

Being euen at deathes doore, he cast his yie on his frendes, and saied: I see a great *epitaphie towarde. 32. *An epitaphie is the writinge that is sette on deade mennes toumbes, or graues, in memory or commendacion of the parties there buried.

¶ As hauinge halfe a foreknowlage, that his actes should after his death bee to his great honour and renoume chronicled and set out by the eloquence of many wryters. Neither did his geasse deceiue hym.

☞ For what wryter almoste at leste wise in matters prophane is not full of the actes of *Alexander?* Albeit the meaning of *Alexander* was, that he plainly perceiued to be no waie but death. For epitaphies are not commenly made, or at lest wise not set out till the parties be deceassed. *Alexander* therfore as he knewe that his actes should by wryters bee spred throughout all the worlde, so he perceiued the time of thesame nowe approche and be at hande.

At what time he had the doughters of Darius prisoners with him, he would bid theim good morrowe, good euen, or good spede, not casting his iye on theim, but looking downe to the grounde, and that but seldome neither, standing in feare of himselfe to be rauished with their excellent 33. *Pluterchus* in the life of *Alexander* writeth largely of the singuler continencie and chastitee

of *Alexander*, and as touching the daughters of *Darius*, he saith al-

excellent beautie. And emonges his familiares these words folowing wer much in his mouth: The damiselles of Persia maken sore iyes.

though the wife of *Darius* did in beautie & feacture excel & passe all other quenes (like as *Darius* on his partie also was both of beautie and tallenesse one of the goodliest men of the worlde) and the two doughters of theim in all pointes of beautie and making eguall with their parentes: yet not one of theim in all the time that they wer with *Alexander*, to haue heard come out of his mouthe so muche as one wanton word, ne to haue seen by him any wanton loke or token towardes any of them, but from their first entreing into his tentes, after muche comfortable and cherefull wordes, and right honourable entreteinement, they had purposely prouided and appointed vnto theim a priuie lodging, wher they might liue at their owne arbitriment, without al maner feare of any point of vilanie to be offred vnto theim, either by *Alexander*, or by any other persone. This wryteth *Plutarchus* of the continence of *Alexander*, with many lyke thinges worthy admiration, namely in an Ethnike or Gentile, in a king, in so victorious a Prince, yea and immediatly vpon so noble a conquest, as might in a Christian Prince perchaunce be an occasion of insolencie, and some cause of forgetting himselfe.

Alexander gaue charge by proclamation not to be painted but of *Apelles*, nor to be engrauen in metall but by *Lysippus*.

34. He gaue streight charge and commaundement by proclamation, that his physiognomie or porturature should not be drawen by any other peinter, then by * Apelles, nor engrauen or cast in brasse or other metall by any other persone then by Lysippus.

¶ Being the two principall and moste excellent werkemen of that same time. For he iudged that same point also to appertain to the dignitee of a prince.

* *Apelles* the moste excellent peynter of the old time, & *Lysippus* the best statuarie.

And with Cherilus the Poete he was at a couenaunt, that thesame for euery good verse that he made, shoulde receiue a † Philippes gildren, and for euery euill verse a good buffet.

† By a Philippes gildren is not mened here the coyne that is nowe curraunt in Flaundres by that appellacion, but an olde coyne of fine golde, in whiche was striken the Image of *Philippus* father vnto *Alexander*, which coyne *Budeus* valueth at tenne Frenche crownes.

A mans goods are no where more safelye layd vp, then in the handes of his frendes.

35. Being asked the question in what place he had his treasures liyng: In the handes of my frendes (quoth he,)

¶ Signifiyng that a mans goodes are no where more safely then so layed vp in store. For when the case requireth,

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reqireth, goodes so bestowed come again to ones handes with encreasse.

When a certain persone, that hadde brought some message or tidinges, came renning towardes him hopping for ioye, and holding out his hande as ferre as he could stretche it, about to make relation of the good successe and proceding of his affaires: Alexander saied What great good newes haue ye to shewe good sir, if ye doe not bring worde, that Homere is aliue again? 36.

The zele of *Alexander* towardes *Homere*

¶ Signifiyng that all the glorie of his noble actes was like to perishe neuer after to be spoken of, onlesse it might be his happe to haue soche a trumpet of his laudes as *Homere was.

* In the werke of *Homere* entitleed, *Ilias*, are moste excellently described and set out the actes, the laudes, and the prowesse marciall of *Achilles* to his immortall glorie and renoume. For whiche cause *Alexander* had soche loue and zele towardes the saied Poete, that wheresoeuer he went, he caried thesame his werke entitleed *Ilias*, euermore about him in the daye time, and in the night vsed euermore to hane his dagguer, and the saied *Ilias* of *Homere* liyng vnder his bolster at his beddes heade. So desirous he was of honour, renoume and eternall memori, and to be set out of the best and most cunning doers, as maie appeare by somethings afore mencioned, and also by the .xlix. saiyng of this *Alexander*.

A certain countree to the ende that it might haue quiet and rest, no more to bee vexed with the armure and ordinaunce of Alexander, offred vnto thesame a good porcion of their possessions, and also the one moytie of all the other goodes that they had. To whom Alexander thus aunswered. I am come into Asia in this minde and purpose, not to take what liked you to geue me, but that ye should haue what liked me to leaue unto you. 37.

What *Alexander* aunswered to a certain citie offreing him part of their landes, & halfe their goodes to be in rest and quiete.

Alexander had in seruice one Eudemonicus a Philosphier, but more full of flatterie then any parasite. This Eudemonicus, on a tyme when it thoundreed verie sore, in somuche, that all the coumpaignie were right euill afraied, saied unto 38.

Eudemonicus a Philosophier in seruice with *Alexander* a gret flatterer. Albeit *Plutar-*

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chus maketh *Anaxarchus* the Sophiste speaker of these wordes.

unto Alexander: the sonne of Iupiter, Why doe not ye also Alexander the sonne of Iupiter thoundre in this wyse? But the other not able to abide the woordes of soche a vile Philosophier, laughed and saied: For I am not willing to be terrible, as thou teachest me to be, which biddest me to make a supperseruice for my table with the heddes of Dukes and Kinges.

* *Athenaeus* a Greke historiographier. The tender loue of *Alexander* towardes his Lordes.

¶ Thus doeth **Athenaeus* rehearse it. But *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander*, telleth it somewhat variyng from this. What? art thou angrie with me, because I am serued at my table with fishe, and not rather with the heddes of noble menne.

☞ *Parasites*, were called soche smellefeastes as would seeke to be free geastes at richemens tables. Who to the ende that they might at all times be welcome, would speake altogether for to please and to delite the ryche folkes, flattering theim, and holding vp their yea, and naye, whatsoeuer they saied, were it neuer so contrarie to reason, truthe, or likelyhood.

39. The exceding humanitee of *Alexander*, and tendrenesse ouer his souldiours.

Alexander as he conueighed his hoste from place to place in the wynter season, sitting by a fier made in the fielde, begonne to take vieue of his armie, as they passed by. And when he espied a certain aged persone quaking and sheureing for colde, and seeking to haue a place to stande in by the fier, he commaunded the feloe to sit down in his chayre, saying: If thou haddest been borne in Persis, it would cost thee thy head to sitte in the kinges seate, but for one born in Macedonia it is not vnleefull.

Emong the *Persians*, it was a matter of death for any priuate person to sit in the kings seate

40. Alexander being yet but euen a young striepleing, when he sawe his father Philippus, about to reiecte and cast awaye (as a thing that would neuer be brought to doe any good seruice,) an * horse that was passing fierce, and would not suffre any man to mounte or get vp on his backe, saied: Oh what an horse these folkes doe marre, while through default of skill, and by reason of coward

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coward stomakes, they haue not the waies to handle him. So when himself with meruaillous policie and cunnyng, without beating or striking had had the handling of the saied horse, at last he lept vp on his back, and put him to a galop, and then clapped spurres to him. And when he sawe his time, gently turning his head with the bridle: assone as he had brought the horse backe again, and had elighted down, his father moste louingly kissing his cheeke, said: O my dere sonne, go serche out some other kingdom meete for thee, for Macedonia is already all to litle for thee.

Macedonia was euer to litle for *Alexander*.

¶ Full well did it geue this prudent and wyse Prince in his mynde tofore that to soche an haulte courage, and excellent nature, his fathers dicion might not suffice. But this horse is an exaumple for vs, that many wittes at their first beginning excellent, are in processe vtterly destroyed and loste through the fault of those that haue the breaking, trainyng, and bringing vp of theim, who for the moste part knowe not the waye howe to ordre & rewle theim, excepte they shall first haue made theim of kindly horses, very sterke asses.

Many goodly wittes marred through the fault of the instructours.

* This horse was called *Bucephalus*, as ye would saye in English, bulles hedd, either of his ougly looke, or els of the figure and prient of a bulles hedde, with an hotte iron marked on his shoulder. One *Philonicus* a *Thessalian* had bought him for .xiii. talentes, purposely to the vse of king *Philippus*. But after this facte, *Alexander* had the horse, & vsed him for his owne sadle in all his warres afterwarde, vntill the horse was thirty yeares olde. And then was he deadly wounded in a certain battaill, and had moche cure doen vpon him to saue him, but it would not be. The death of *Bucephalus Alexander* tooke as heauely, as if he had lost one of his nighest and derest frendes, in so much that he builded a citie in the place where the horse died, and for a memorie of the same called the citee *Bucephalon*, or *Bucephala*, or (as it is in *Plutarchus*) *Bucephalia*.

41. *Alexander* did continual reuerence to his master *Aristotle*.

Thesame Alexander did continually shewe great honour and reuerence vnto Aristotle, to whome he had in his childhod been committed to be enstructed & taught, auouching himselfe to bee no lesse beholding to thesaied Aristotle, We are no lesse

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bounden to our scholemaisters then to our parentes.

then to his father, for that of his father he had receiued entreaunce into this life, and of his schoolemaister to liue well.

42. How a Pirate being taken answered *Alexander*, when he was examined.

When a rouer on the sea was taken & brought before him, and was asked vpon whose supportacion he durst be so bolde to do soche mischief on the seaes, he answered at fewe wordes as foloeth: I (saieth he) because I so doe with no more but one sely poore foyste, am called a pirate, and thou, wheras, thou doest thesame with a greate nauie, art called a king.

¶ Alexander meruailing at the fearelesse herte of the feloe, gaue him perdone of his life.

Delphi, orum, a toune in the region of *Phocis*, where *Apollo* had a notable goodly temple, and gaue vnto Pilgrimes that resorted thither oracles, that is to say answers voices, & tokens from heauen of soche thinges as they sought to know, which we cal werking of miracles, & thinges shewed by reuolation. *Alexander* toke all to his auauntage, that was to his appetite and purpose.

43. Where he had in his own persone purposely made a iourney to Delphos, when the Prophetisse there saied that she would in no wyse at that present tyme desire of that goddes, any aunswere of the matter whiche he was come for, (because it were daies prohibited, during the which it was not lefull, no not so muche as for the oracles neither, to speake, or to geue aunswer in any matters,) Alexander haling and pulling with him thesaid prophetisse parforce, ascended into the temple. And when the Prophetisse by his importunitee and violent compulsion, enforced to goe whether she would or not, spake these words. Thou art inuincible my sonne. This is euen enough of the oracle for me (quoth Alexander.)

¶ Accompting and rekening the womans priuate wordes for an answere of his purpose directly geuen vnto him from the God.

44. The assured trust and confidence of *Alexander* to pros-

After that Alexander hauing taken a viage on warrefare into Asia, had distributed, and in maner geuen awaye by patentes vnto his capitaines & men of armes all his possessions and lande:

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lande: vnto Perdicca asking this question, What haue ye nowe left to yourself sir king? Mary (quoth he again) hope. Then saied Perdicca: And as for hope shal be indifferent and commune for vs your souldiours, as well as for you, & so refused to take the lordship or mainour, whiche Alexander hadde assigned out for him.

per in all his entreprises. *Perdicca* one of *Alexanders* Capitaines. And *Plutarchus* writeth that as *Perdicca* did, so did a great nombre mo, to whome *Alexander* had geuen & assigned porcions of landes & possessions. *Alexander* wold in matters of complaint euer more reserue one eare wholy for the party defendaunt.

¶ Soche assured truste & confidence had they on all handes conceiued, to make a prosperous and a luckie viage.

Thesame Alexander at the beginning of his reigne, when he sate in iudgemente vpon causes concerning life and death, he would euermore stoppe thone eare as long as the accuser was telling his tale. And beyng asked why he did so, The other eare (quoth he) I do wholy reserue & keepe for the partie defendaunt. 45.

☞ Woulde Christe all Iudges would doe likewyse at these dayes.

Against *Caellisthenes in no behalf framing himselfe to the facions and guyse of the kinges court, but both in woordes and in his other demeanour openly pretending and shewing himselfe to mislike all that euer was doen there, Alexander had ofte in his mouthe this litle Greke verse. 46. *Callisthenes* contemning the facions of *Alexanders* court at length grew out of fauour, and encurred his mortall hatred.

μισῶ σοφιστὴν, ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός.

I hate that wyse man, what euer he is,
That to his owne behouf, is not wyse.

* *Callisthenes* was a Sophiste, and a man of great eloquence as declareth *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander*. He was brought into *Alexanders* court, by the meanes of *Aristotle*, whose nere kinsman he was. For *Aristotle* and *Hero* the mother of *Callisthenes* were come of twoo sisters. *Plutarchus* saieth that some writers affirmen *Alexander* to haue hanged him on the galoes, and that other wryten him to haue died in prison, by reason of long keping there in cheines & fetters, and that others saien him to haue died of the congeling of greace or talow betwene the skinne and the fleshe.

Being about to make assaute vpon the toune of *Nisa, for to wynne it, when he perceiued his souldiours 47.

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The frowardnesse of *Alexander* in marciall entreprises.

souldiours by reason of the deapth of the flood, whiche renneth a long by the citie, to be clene discouraged and afearde to auenture, he stamped and sterted at it, criyng out with a loude voice, Oh the naughtiest feloe aliue that I am, whiche neuer learned to swymme, and euen with a trice laiyng his bodie vpon his shielde or terguet in stede of a corke to staye him aboue water, he swimmed ouer the floodde first of all his own selfe.

* This *Nisa* was a toune in *India*, builded by *Bacchus*. For there was another *Nisa* In *Egipt*, where *Bacchus* was nouriced by the Nymphes. There wer also other tounes mo then one or twaine of thesame name elswhere, as testifien the Geographiers.

Alexander pronounced *Achilles* happie that euer he was borne.

48. Makyng a iourney to Troie, and there arriued, he decked and trimmed the image of Achilles with garlandes, and saied, Oh, happie art thou Achilles, that euer thou were borne, to whom in thy life time, it fortuned to haue soche a frend, and after thy deceasse soche a trompet and displaier of thin actes.

Patroclus the frend of *Achilles* in his life time, and *Homere* the trompette of his renoume after his death.

¶ Speaking of *Patroclus* and of *Homere:* of which the one was vnto *Achilles* a moste faithfull & trustie frende, and the other, through all his whole werke entitled *Ilias*, conteinyng .24. volumes spredeth and bloweth about all the worlde, his glory and renoume, now when he is dedde and gone.

* *Patroclus* a *Locrensian*, the sonne of *Menetius*, when he had doen a murder in his own countree, fled into the countree of *Thessalia*, vnto *Peleus* the king there, to whose sonne *Achilles* he was derely beloued, and a mutuall louyng frende to him again, for he would neuer after forsake *Achilles*, but wente with thesame to the battaille of *Troie*. And when *Achilles* (for displeasure and angre that *Agamemnon* king of Grece had parforce taken awaie his paramour *Briseis*) would no more fight against the *Troianes*, but did a long time forbeare and refuse to come forthe of his pauilion vnto battaill, *Patroclus* did on his owne body, the armour and harnesse of *Achilles*, and mindyng thereby to make the *Troianes* afeard, (for of all thinges in the worlde, thei could not abide the sight of *Achilles*) he bickered and fought with the *Troianes* and was slaine with the handes of *Hector*. Wherfore *Achilles* to auenge his death, bethought himself again, & returned to battaill, & slue *Hector*, and buried *Patroclus* honorably, & oft times did moche sacrifice to the Goddes at his toumbe.

Where

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Where he was by the commune talking of many one reported to be a God, he saied that by twoo thinges especially, he did well perceiue him selfe to be a man or creature mortall, that is to wete, by slepe, and by compaigniyng with women. 49. By what argumentes *Alexander* perceiued his mortalitee.

¶ For that these two thinges did principally aboue all others discrie the feblenesse of mannes bodie. As touching all thinges els, he was inuincible. For slepe is an Image and representacion of death, and the acte of venerous copulacion a playne spiece of the falling euil. Slepe an Image of death & the venereous acte a spiece of the falling euil.

☞ *Plutarchus* addeth hereunto that onely the infirmitee and wekenesse of mans nature is the breder and cause of werinesse, & of carnall pleasure.

Being entreed into the palaice of Darius, when he sawe a chaumbre of a great highth, and in thesame, the bedde of estate, the tables to eate on, and all other thinges after a wondrefull gorgeous sorte furnished, euen to the pointe deuise: Why (quoth Alexander) was this to be a king? 50. What *Alexander* saied when he sawe the palaice of *Darius*, so gorgiously appointed.

¶ Esteaming that it was vnmete for a king to geue hym selfe to soche maner delices. Unmete for a king to geue himselfe to delices.

Thesame Alexander, whensoeuer he went vnto his bed, he would of a custome diligently serche his robes, and all his wearing geare, and saie: Hath not my mother (trowe we) put some point of delicatenesse or some superfluous thing here about my clothes? 51. *Alexander* abhorred effeminate delices.

¶ So greatly did he abhorre from delices more apperteining to women, then to men.

Being brought vnto his handes a litle caskette or gardeuiaunce, in whiche there was not founde emong all that other rychesse of Darius, any one iewell either more precious or elles more goodlie to the iye. When the question was moued, vnto what vse it might best bee applied, eche man geuyng, 52. The precious casket, or deske or standishe of *Darius*.

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Howe *Alexander* estemed the *Ilias* of *Homere*, and why.

geuyng, one this auise, an other that. It will be the best thing in the worlde (quoth Alexander) wherein to keepe the Ilias of Homere.

¶ Estemyng no treasure to bee more precious then thesaied boke. Soche was the conceipt of this king being in his lustie youth, & wholly in all behalfes framing himself after the paterne of *Achilles*.

53. When Parmenio gaue thesame Alexander counsaill to set vpon his enemies by night, allegeing that otherwyse it would be a very great daunger, if he should openly by daye time auenture bataill vpon so great a multitude, (for of the roumbleing noyse rebounding from a ferre, as it had ben the roring of the sea, thei might coniecture the contrarie part to be in maner a noumber infinite) he said: I came not hether to steale the victorie.

The animositie of *Alexander*.

¶ Refusing to wynne the victorie by the defense or aide of the darkenesse.

54. When he had read a long bible written and sent to him from Antipater, in whiche lettres wer conteined many surmised matters and false complaintes against his mother Olympias: It appeareth (quoth he) to be a thing to Antipater vnknowen, that one teare of my mothers iyen, shal at al times washe away all epistles that come, be they neuer so many.

Antipater surmuised false accusacions against *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*.

Howe muche *Olympias* might doe with *Alexander* with one tere of hir yies.

55. When he had perceiued and founde that his sister vsed wanton conuersation with a certain young man of excellent beautie, he toke no displeasure therwith, but saied, to be a thing reasonable, or, to bee a thing to bee borne withall, that she also should in some behalf haue prerogatiue to take fruicion of being a princesse in a royalme, ☞ Forasmuch as she was a kinges doughter.

¶ Being

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¶ Being of a muche contrarie mynde to *Augustus* Emperour of Rome, who toke nothing more greuously, then the laciuiousnesse of his doughter and of his doughters doughters.

Read of this the vii. xlv. xlvi. and xliiii. *apophthegmes* of *Augustus*.

When he had heard the Philosophier Anaxagoras holding opinion and mainteining in a certain lecture, that there wer worldes out of noumbre, the reporte goeth, that he fell on weping. And to his frendes demaunding, whether any mischaunce had befallen him, meete to wepe for, he saied: Haue I not, trow ye, a good cause to wepe, in that, whereas there ben worldes innumerable, I am not yet come to be full lord of one?

56. The insaciable ambicion & desire of empier that reigned in *Alexander*.

Philippus at the fighting of a certain field receiued of the Triballes a sore wound by hauing a spere thrust quite and clene through his thighe. And being afterwarde by the cure and helpe of his Surgeon saued, and recouered from perill of death, yet he toke heauily, that the deformitee and disfigure of hymping on the one legge, whiche had come to him by thesaied wounde, did still remain. To whome Alexander saied: Sir, take no discoumfort to shewe yourselfe abrode, but euer when ye sette foorth your foote to goe, haue minde on your valiaunt manhood. ☞ And prowesse that ye shewed when ye receiued this wounde.

57. The *Triballes* a people nigh vnto *Hungarie*.

Philippus wounded in fighting a field against the *Triballes*.

Howe *Alexander* coumforted *Philippus* taking thought for that he should halte al daies of his lyfe.

¶ This saiyng is ascribed to others mo besides Alexander.

If at any time, either in familiare communication, or els at the table, there had come in place any contencion about the verses of Homere, one saiyng this verse to be best, an other that verse, Alexander would euermore allowe & prayse this verse here ensuing, aboue all the other verses in the booke.

58.

What verse *Alexander* allowed best of all the verses of *Homere*.

ἀμφότερον,

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ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

That is,

Both a good Capitaine to guide an armie,
And with speare & shield valiaunt and hardie.

Alexander auouched that *Homere* in collauding *Agamemnon* prophecied of him.

He would moreouer saie, that Homere did in this verse both make honourable report of the manhood and prouesse of Agamemnon, and also prophecie of thesame to come in Alexander.

59. *Hellespontus* the narrowe sea betwene *Grece* & *Asia*.

At what time Alexander hauing passed ouer Hellespontus, went to see Troie, reuoluyng and castinge in his mynde the actes of auncient Princes of renoume, a certain persone promised to geue him the harpe of Paris, if he had any mynde to it. No, no, (quoth Alexander quickely again) I haue no neede at al of the harpe of Paris, forasmuch as I haue alreadie the harpe of Achilles.

Alexander hauing the harpe of *Achilles*, cared not for the harpe of *Paris*.

¶ Achilles beyng on his owne partie a knyght stoute and actiue, vsed euermore on his harpe to plaie songes of the laudes and prayses of hardie men and valiaunt, whereas *Paris* with his harpe did nothing but twang fonde fansies of daliaunce and lasciuiousnesse.

Paris the sonne of *Priamus* king of Troie, of whom is noted afore in the .iii. *Apophthegme* of *Aristippus*.

60. The women of *Darius* his court were his wife, his mother, and his two doughters.

On a tyme he went to see the women of Darius his courte, taking Hephæstion with him. And this Hephæstion (because he went at that tyme in thesame maner apparell that the king did, and also was of personage somwhat bigger made then he) Sygambris the mother of Darius kneeled vnto, in stede of the king. And when she had, by the nodding and becking of those that stoode by, well perceiued, that she had taken hir marke amisse, she was muche dismaied withall, and begonne of freshe to doe hir dutie vnto Alexander. Anon sayed Alexander: Mother, there

Hephaestion somwhat bigger made, & taller of personage then *Alexander*.

Sygambris the mother of *Darius*.

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there is no cause why to be dismaied. For this man to is Alexander.

Alexander esteemed *Hephaestion* a second *Alexander*, according to the prouerbe *amicus alter ipse* that is, two frendes are one soul and one body.

¶ Doyng to wete, that his frende was a seconde Alexander.

When he was come into the temple of Hammon, the minister there being an auncient saige father, welcomed him with these wordes, All haill *my sonne, and it is not I that doe call thee by this name, but the God Iupiter. Then saied Alexander, I take it at your hande O father, and wilbe contented from henceforth to be called your sonne vpon condicion that ye graunt vnto me the empier, and dominion of all the whole worlde. The priest went into the priue chauncell, and (as though he hadde spoken with God,) came forth againe, and aunswered that Iupiter did by assured promisse make him a graunt of his boune that he asked. Then eftsons saied Alexander. Now would I fain knowe, if there be yet remaining vnpunished of any of those persones whiche killed my father. To this the priest thus made aunswere: As many as put their handes to the sleing of Philippus, haue receiued condigne punishement for their offense euery one of theim, but as for your father, no mortall creature hath power to destroye, or to werke displeasure vnto, by laiyng awayte for him.

61.

Howe *Alexander* coming into the temple of *Hammon* was saluted by the priest, or minister there.

¶ Signifiyng that he was the soonne of *Iupiter* and not of *Philippus*.

Alexander made to beleue that he was the sonne of *Iupiter* and not of *Philippus*.

* *Plutarchus* writeth certain autours to afferme, that the minister welcomed hym in Greke, & mynding tenderly & gently to salute with this word παιδίον, sonnekin, or litle sonne, tripped a litle in his tongue and by a wrong pronunciation instead of παιδίον, said παιδίος which being diuided into two woordes παῖ διὸς, souneth the sonne of *Iupiter*.

Where as Darius had set his armie royall of a wondrous great noumbre, in a readinesse to fight

62.

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fight, Alexander was taken with a meruaillous dead slepe, in so much that being euen in the daie time, he coulde not holde vp his hedde, nor awake. At the last great perill and daunger being euen at hande, his gentlemen entring his bedde chaumbre, made him to awake. And when they saied vnto him, that they meruailled how he could in that present state of his affaires be so quiet and voide of all care, as to slepe so soundely. Mary (quoth he) Darius hath deliuered and quite discharged me of great carefulnesse and trouble of mynde, in that he hath gathered all his puissaunce together into one place, that we may euen in one daye trie, whether he shall haue the soueraintee, or els I.

Alexander taken with a dedde slepe euen in the daye time when *Darius* laye in the campe ready euery houre to set vpon him, what he saied when he was awakened.

☞ *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* saith that *Darius* had in his armie vi. hundred thousand fighting men, besides those whiche were in his nauie on the seas.

63. The Corinthians had by Ambassadours geuen to Alexander Magnus to enioye the right of all their libertees and franchesse. This kynde of pleasure doing, when Alexander had laughed to skorne, one of the Ambassadours saied: Sir, we neuer yet vnto this daye made any for euer free of our citie sauing now your grace, and ones afore time Hercules. This heard, Alexander with all his herte, accepted the honour vnto him offred.

The *Corinthians* made *Alexander* free burgesse of their citee.

¶ Whiche honour, partely the raritiee made vnto him acceptable, and partlye, that he was therein ioyned with *Hercules*, a knight of moste high prayse and renoume.

64. At the siege of a certain citee, whyle he serched for the weakest places of the walles, he was striken with an arrowe, but yet he would not leaue of his purpose. Within a whyle after that,

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that, the bloud being staunched, the anguishe of the drie wounde encreaced more and more, and his legge flagging down by the horses syde, by litle and litle was all aslepe, and in maner sterke stife, he being of force constreigned to geue ouer that he had begonne, and to call for his Surgeon, saied to soche as were present: Euery body reporteth me to be the sonne of Iupiter, but this wounde saieth with an open mouth, that I am a mortall manne.

Alexander agnised & knowleged himselfe, to be a mortall man.

One Xenophantus customably vsed by certain measures plaiyng on a flute, to set Alexander forthwarde to battaill. And all persones woundring that musike should be of soche force & power, one emong theim saied: If Xenophantus be soche a cunning doer, leat him plaie some measure to call Alexander home againe from makinge warres. 65.

¶ Meaning that it was no very high point of cunning to bring a body to the thing, whervnto thesame is of him self propense, and of his owne propre nature inclined.

¶ *The*

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¶ *The saiynges of Antigonus*

THE FIRSTE

KYNG OF THE MACEDONIANS.

☞ This *Antigonus* was of all the successours of *Alexander* moste puissaunt and mightie. And *Plutarchus* in the life of *Demetrius* saieth that *Antigonus* had by *Stratonice* the doughter of *Corthaeus* twoo sonnes, of which the one he called (of his brothers name) *Demetrius*, and the other (of his fathers name) *Philippus*. And thesame *Plutarchus* in the life of *Paulus Aemilius*, and els where in mo places then one saieth, that this *Antigonus* euen by the title of his birthe and descente, claimed to haue the name of a king, and first begun to reigne in *Asia*, after the deceasse of *Alexander*. Albeit (as thesaid *Plutarchus* in the life of *Demetrius* testifieth) the successours of *Alexander* wer not euen at the first called kinges, but certain yeres after, when *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, had on the sea subdued *Ptolomeus* the king of Egipt, & had destroied al his nauie, then came one *Aristodenus* a *Milesian* from *Demetrius* in post, & salued *Antigonus* by the name of kyng. Then *Antigonus* not onely on his owne partie and behalfe vsurped the name, the honour, the estate, & the ornamentes and armes of a king but also sent vnto his sonne *Demetrius* a diademe, that is to saie, a kynges croune, together with letters, in whiche he called him a king. *Antigonus* reigned .xxii. yeres, and kepte in the time of his reigne many warres, and at last was slain, and died euen in the field.

1. ANtigonus was an egre and a sore man, in taking exaccions of money of his subiectes. Whereupon, to a certaine persone, saiyng, I wis Alexander was no soche man: A good cause why, quoth he again, for he reaped Asia & had all the eres, and I doe but gather the stalkes.

How *Antigonus* excused his greuous exaccions of money emong his subiectes.

¶ Meanyng that *Asia* sometime the richest and welthiest countree of the worlde, had been afore his tyme spoyled by *Alexander*, and that he must be glad and faine to scrape together what he might be able to get emong theim, hauing been afore in soch wyse pilled, and left as bare as Job.

Alexander spoiled *Asia* & lefte it as bare as *Iob*.

2. Beholding on a time a certain of his souldiours to plaie at the balle, hauinge both their iackes

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iackes and their salettes on, he was highly well pleased with the sighte therof, and commaunded the capitaines of thesame soldiers to be called and fette, to thintent to geue theim thanke, & to prayse theim in presence of their capitaines: but when woorde was brought him, that the saied capitains wer drinking and making good chere, he conferred their capitainships vnto those actiue souldiers, whiche hadde plaied at the balle, in their harnesse.

How *Antigonus* vsed certain of his capitaines which sate drinkynge whyle their souldiers exercised themselfs with plaiyng at the ball in their harnes.

¶ All vnder one both punishing the sluggishenesse of the capitaines, and with honour and promocion rewarding the actiuitee of the souldiers.

Euery bodie meruailing that wher in the beginning of his reigne he had been a very sore man, nowe being striken in age, he gouerned his royalme with all mercie and gentlenesse: At the beginning, saieth he, it behoued me to haue a kingdom, and at this daie I haue more nede of glory and beneuolence.

3. *Antigonus* in the beginning of his reigne, a sore man, but in the later end full of al mercy and gentlenesse.

¶ Mening, that an Empier is ofte times by the sweord and by roughnesse purchaced or acquired, but thesame not reteined, or long yeares continued, without the honest opinion that the subiectes haue of their king, and the hertie good wil of the prince mutually towardes his subiectes.

Thesame Antigonus vnto his sonne Philip being full of questions in presence of a great noumbre, and saiyng: Sir, when shall we remoue the campe? thus aunswered: What, art thou afeard, lest thou alone of all the coumpanie shalt not heare the trompette blowe?

4. What *Antigonus* aunswered to his sonne being muche inquisitiue when the campe should remoue. Albeit *Plutarchus* nameth that it was *Demetrius* that was so inquisitiue.

¶ Noting the lacke of experience and skylle in the young man, in that he would in the hearing of a great compaignie moue soche a question to his father, whereas in time of warre, the ententes and purposes

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The ententes & purposes of princes oughte in no wise to be vttreed in time of warre.

poses of princes, ought in no wyse to bee vttered ne disclosed, but as often as the campe must remoue, a troumpette geueth a knowledge therof to the vniuersall multitude all together.

5. How *Antigonus* disappointed the purpose of his sonne, seeking to be lodged in an house wher his loue was.

When his sonne the saied Philip being a young man, had made wondreous earnest request and suite to haue his lodgeing appointed him at a wedoes house, that had three faire & welfauoured doughters, Antigonus calling for the knight herbinger, saied vnto thesame: Wilt thou not see my sonne voyded out of soche a streighte corner?

¶ He did not discrie howe the young mans herte was set, although he knewe thesame to seeke wheron to bestowe his loue, but founde an impedement by the narrowe roume of the house in which the wedoe liued with hir thre doughters.

6. Sicknesse putteth vs in remembrance not to be proude in hart forasmoch as we bee mortalle.

After that he had perfectlie recouered of a sore disease and maladie, Well (saieth he) al this is no harme. For this sicknesse hath giuen vs a good lesson, not to be proude in hart, forasmoche as we be mortal.

¶ Who had taught this Heathen kyng soche a poincte of philosophie, mete and worthy for any christian hart? His frendes lamented and bewailled, as a great euill, that he had been so sore sicke, but he enterpreted and toke, that to hym thereby had redounded more good then euill. The maladie had made his bodie leane, and bare of fleshe, but it endued & replenished his harte with sobernesse and humilitee. It had shreudly abated the strength of his bodie but from his harte it pulled awaie insolencie, that is to saie, presumpcion in takyng highlie vpon hym, whiche is one of the moste perillous diseases in the worlde. And therefore the matter goeth not all of the wurst, when the lighter maladie either forefendeth and debarreth, or els expelleth and driueth out the greater.

Insolencie one of the moste perilous diseases in the worlde.

It goeth not al amisse, when the lighter disease shifteth awaie the grater.

Hermodotus

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Hermodotus a Poete had in his versis, writen Antigonus to be the sonne of Iupiter. Antigonus readyng thesame, saied: To this thyng was that pissepot bearer, neuer made priuie, nor of counsaill by me. 7.

The humilitee of *Antigonus*.

¶ After a very pleasaunt sorte, mockyng the flaterie of the Poete, and with no lesse humilitee, agnifyng & knowlegyng the base linage that he was come of, ☞ in comparison of beyng sonne to *Iupiter*. *Lasanum* is Greke and Latine for an yearthen pissepot, or chaumber vesselle, ☞ and thereof *Lasanophorus*, a chambrer, or, a grome of the stoole, so that if *Antigonus* were the soonne of *Iupiter*, thesame thing had vnto that presente houre escaped vnknowen, aswell to his grome, whose daily office it was, to giue vnto hym, his vrinall in his chamber, as also to him self the saied *Antigonus*.

Lasanum.

Lasanophorus.

A certain persone saiyng, that All thynges wer honest and iuste, or leefull for kinges to do: By Iupiter, saith Antigonus, and euen so thei be, for the kinges of barbarous wilde, and saluage nacions, but to vs that knowe what is what, those thinges onely are honest, whiche be honest of themselfes, and onely soche thinges leefull, or standing with iustice, which are of their nature iust and leefull in verie deede. 8.

How *Antigonus* aunswered one, saiyng al thinges to bee honest & lefull for kinges to dooe.

To good kynges onely soch thynges ar honest and iust as been in verie deede honeste and iuste.

¶ He did with high grauitee dampe and put to silence, the flattryng wordes of the partie, by whose mynde and will all thinges should be permitted as leful vnto kinges and gouernours. For truly a kinge is not the rewle of honestee and of iustice, but the minister of theim. And would God the eares of christian Princes neuer heard any lyke wordes spoken, or if they did, that they would with sembleable seueritee reiecte and abandon thesame. For what other thing saien those persones, who are alwayes harping on this streng, and synging this songe, that foloeth: What standeth

A king is not the rewle of honestee and of iustice, but the minister of them.

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standeth with the liking and pleasure of a Prince hath the force, strength and vertue of a lawe. And those who doen affirme a king not to be vnder bond or subiection of any lawes, and soche as doen attribute and assigne vnto a king twoo distincte powers, the one ordinate, and the other absolute, of which the first may doe no more nor no otherwyse, but as the lawes and statutes of a royalme, as couenauntes and bargaines betwene partie and partie, and as leages and agrementes publique betwene royalme and royalme doen require, & the other, whatsoeuer standeth with the pleasure, appetite, and phansie of the Prince.

9. What *Antigonus* said to *Marsyas* his brother, beseching that an accion of his might be heard and iudged in a secrete place, and not in open courte.

Marsyas the brother of Antigonus had a matter of suite and trauerse in the lawe: but he besought the king that the matter might be heard, and a secrete court purposely holden at home within his house for it. To whome Antigonus in this wyse made answere. If we doe nothing but according to iustice, it shalbe muche better that it be doen in open courte, and in the face & hearing of all the people.

The vpright iustice of *Antigonus*.

¶ The naturall zele and tendre loue towarde his owne brother could not obteine of the king, to haue so much as one iote of the lawe or of the ordre of iustice releassed.

It is to be gretly mistrusted, if one labour to bring a matter of open courte into a secrete chamber.

And as for Marsyas he cloggued & bound on all sides with this saiynge that could not possible be auoided. If thou knowe thy matter to bee naught, why doest thou sue, or trauerse the lawe? if thou know thy cause to be good, and the lawe to be on thy side: why wouldest thou auoide to haue al the world priuie to it, and labourest in any wyse to haue a matter of open court to be doen secretly in hugger mugger, assured there, not to escape or auoide the sinistre, mistrusting of al the countree, yea although thou shalt

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shalt cast thine aduersary, and haue the matter rightfully to passe with thee?

Where he had on a time in the winter season, constreined his army and tentes to be remoued, vnto a place where was no store ne prouision of thinges necessarie, & for that cause certain of the souldiers spake many naughtie wordes of reproche by the king, not knowing him to be euen at their polles, he put abrode the louures of the tente with a ruttocke that he hadde in his hande, and saied: Sirs ye shall beshrewe yourselfs, except ye go ferther of to speake eiuill of me. 10.

The lenitee & mercifulnesse of *Antigonus*.

¶ What thinge more full of mercie then this worde of pleasaunce? or what thing more full of pleasaunce then this deede of mercie? he sembleed and made as though he toke not indignation or displeasure for their speaking euill of him, but for that they did it so nere his nose, that they might easely be heard of the partie, on whome they railled.

Unto one Aristodemus (who was one of the kinges priue chambre nere and familiar about him, but descended (as it was thought) of a cooke to his father) vnto this Aristodemus, auising him to abate somewhat of his great charges, and of his bounteous geuing rewardes and fees, he said. Aristodemus thy wordes doe smell and sauour all of the gruell. 11.

How *Antigonus* aunswered one *Aristodemus*, auising him to abate of his charges & pensions giuing.

¶ Couertely and by a preatie colour telling him that sparing, pinching and plaiyng the nygardes or haynes, belonged to cookes, and not to kinges: and therefore that he the saied *Aristodemus* in soche counsaill geuing had no remembraunce ne consideration with whome he was of housholde in high degree, fauour, and acception, but of what man to his father he was descended.

Bountie & largesse is befalling for kinges

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12. When the Atheniens, to shew honour vnto Antigonus, had admitted & recorded or enrolled a bondman of his in the number of their free citezens or burgesses, as though thesame had ben come of an honest stocke, or had ben borne out of seruitude and bondage. It is no point of my minde or wil (quoth Antigonus) that any citezen of Athenes should come vnder my handes to be scourged with whippes.

What *Antigonus* saied, when the *Atheniens* had made a bondman of his free citezen emong theim.

In olde time it was lefull for the maisters to beate their bond seruauntes with roddes, or to scourge theim with whippes at their owne pleasures, & as often & as moch as them lusted.

¶ Signifiyng to bee a thing of their own voluntarie doyng and of their owne handie working, that he might lawfully scourge, or beate with whyppes one citezen of *Athenes*, beyng & remaining still his bondman: but yet in the citee of *Athenes* many mo then one to had well deserued to be whipped of the king, for that asmuche as in theim laie they releassed and made free another mans bondseruaunte.

13. A certaine young strieplyng, beyng a disciple or scholare of Anaximenes the rhetorician, pronounced in the presence of Antigonus an Oracion deuised and made by his maister not without great studie, and the young thing taught afore for the nones, and purposely brought in to pronounce it, ☞ (As though the Oracion had been of his own making, and that it might none otherwise appeare vnto the king.) And so when Antigonus in the middes of geuing audience vnto the proposition (being desirous to be certified and to haue knowledge of whatsoeuer it was) asked a question, and the young man forthwith had sodainly stopped in his matter not able to proceade in it, nor hauinge a worde more to saie: Why howe saiest thou (quoth the king) was not this also drawen and copied out for thee afore in a booke?

¶ That this kyng iudged contrarie to all reason and reprocheable, in one that was in maner but euen a very

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very childe, thesame nowe at this daie is accoumpted an high point and royall thing, that is, euen graund seigniours hauing to saie before kinges and princes, to cunne by herte, and to rendre again after the maner of an oration or sermon, hauing ben in making a whole halfe yere together with sore labour and study by some rhetorician or learned man hiered thereunto. And many times it chaunceth, that soche persones, (yea euen no body at all breaking their tale) forgetten theimselfes, and fallen clene out of their matter, & maken all the presence to laugh at theim.

Bosome Sermons and oracions of an other mannes making.

14. Hearing one other rhetoritian rolling in his peinted termes, and telling his tale after this curious sorte, χιονοβόλος ἡ ὥρα γενομένη λειποβοτανεῖν ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν that is, The snowe casting season nowe coming in place, hath made this climate vtterly desolate of herbage, or hath brought this climate to clene disherbageing: Why (quoth he) wilt thou not surceasse to deale with me, in thy termes, as thou doest with the simple innocentes of the commen people?

Antigonus was mocheoffended with a *Rhetorician* vsing ouer curious ynkehorne termes in telling his tale.

¶ The king was muche offended and displeased with the ouer exquisite maner of telling his tale, with the which maner curious filed termes the *Rhetoricians* vsen to set out their peinted sheath emong the vnexperte or ignoraunt multitude of the people. But the same to do before a king was an abusing of the Princes pacience. In stede of these wordes, χιονοβόλος ἡ ὥρα, the snowe casting season, he might haue saied, the wynter season. And these wordes, λειποβοτανεῖν ἐποίησε, that is, hath brought this climate to clene disherbageing, smellen all of the inkehorne, and maye scacely be well licenced vnto a Poete, ☞ muche lesse to an Oratour.

A Clime is a region or coste of a countree.

15. Unto Thrasillus a Cynique asking of him, in the waye of a rewarde a grote or six pence: That is no rewarde for a kyng to geue (quoth he) The Cynique

How *Antigonus* defeacted a *Cinique* Philoso-

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phier askyng a reward of him. Of the valour of a drachme & a talent it is noted afore in the seconde saiyng of *Aristippus* & xlvi. leafe.

Cynique eftsons repliyng Well, then giue me a talent: Nay (quoth he) that is no mete reward for a Cinique to receiue.

¶ So on both sides he defeated and disapointed the importunitee or saucinesse of the crauer that would not bee aunswered, whom he deamed not worthie to haue any good doen hym.

16. How *Antigonus* exhorted his soonne *Demetrius* when he sent him forth with an armie to deliuer Grece

When he sent his soonne ☞ Demetrius with a great nauie and with a great puissaunce of soldiers for to deliuer the Grekes, and to set theim free from all yokes of homage or forren subiection: he saied, that glory and renoume was like a beaken, enkendled or set on fire from Grece, as from a mountain with an high top, to extende & sprede light ouer all the whole vniuersall worlde.

¶ Prickyng forthward the yong man with desire of glorie, to make hym doe the part of a valiaunt knight, forasmoche as by so doyng, the bruite of that same his high praise and commendacion was not to be hidden or pended, within the limites and precintes of Grece, but rather to ren abroade, throughout all coastes and partes of the worlde, by reason of the greate fame and name that Grece had euery where all readie.

☞ Wher it is afore noted that *Antigonus* had two sonnes, & named the one by his brothers name *Demetrius*, & the other by his fathers name *Philippe*, *Plutarchus* saith that soche was the fame & bruite that went of him. Albeit (saieth *Plutarchus* in the life of this *Demetrius*) many chronicleers haue left in wryting, that this *Demetrius* was not the sonne of *Antigonus*, but his brothers sonnes sonne. For the father of *Demetrius* being deceassed, and his mother being married vnto *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* being a very young infant, was beleued to be the sonne of *Antigonus*, and muche the more, because that *Philippe* being twoo or thre yeares younger of age then *Demetrius* died, and *Demetrius* was by *Antigonus* made his heire apparaunt, to succede him in his crowne and empier.

17. The familiare iesting betwen the king *Antigonus*, & the poete *Antagoras*.

The Poete Antagoras he founde on a time in his tente sething a coungre, & buisily stiering the panne with his own hands: and standing euen herd at his polle behind him, he saied: Doest thou suppose O Antagoras that Homere, when he wroote

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wroote the actes of Agamennon,* did sethe coungres as thou doest nowe? To this saied Antagoras again: And thou sir king, doest thou suppose that Agamemnon in the tyme of doing those noble actes, made soch curious searchyng as thou doest, if any bodie in the hoste sodde any Coungers?

* *Agamemnon* the king of *Mycena*, and of all the *Argiues*, the sonne of *Atrius* and the brother of *Menelaus* king of *Lacedaemon*, (for whose wife Helene, all the kings of Grece made warre against Troie.) And *Agamemnon* was the hedde and chief king of theim all. But at his retourne from Troie he was slaine by his owne wife *Clitemnestra*, by the helpe of *Egiptus* who kept hir by adulterie, because he had (as *Clytemnestra* supposed) slain *Iphigenia* his doughter and hirs in sacrifice vnto *Diana*, at the porte of *Aulia*, when the Grekes should take their viage towardes Troie.

¶ The Kyng toke paciently & in the good part, to be paied home ieste for ieste, euen as though the matter had ben betwene twoo familiare plaifeers eguall of degre or feloes like.

Antigonus had on a season in his dreaming, seen Mithridates reping golden corn, and therfore laied awaite to haue thesame Mithridates by the backe, and to despeche hym out of the waie. And when he had opened this matter vnto his soonne Demetrius, he bound thesame by an oth, to make no wordes at all of it. Wherefore Demetrius taking Mithridates in compainie with him, went walking vp and doun on the sea banke, & with the nether ende of his spere wrote in the sande, as foloeth: Mithridates auoide the countree. Mithridates* well perceiuyng what the matter meant, fled into Pontus, and there reigned as kyng, al the daies of his life after. 18.

The faithfulnes of *Demetrius* towarde *Mithridates* his frend sauing his oth vpright, and not breaking the commaundemente of *Antigonus*.

* Of this *Mithridates* kyng of *Pontus*, it is written that he was a man of a mightie great stature, strong of bodie, of a noble courage, of excellent wit and policie and of incredible memorie. For where

¶ But this historie, forasmoche as it is no *apophthegme*, ☞ (for an *apophthegme* consisteth in woordes spoken) semeth to haue been put in by some other bodie. ☞ Then by *Plutarchus* who compiled the treatise of *apophthegmes*. Albeit woordes after soche sort, and for soche purpose written, maie haue the force, strength, and place of wordes, with the tongue and voice pronounced.

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where he was king of .22 nacions, it is certain that vnto euery of thesame, seuerally he made lawes, and kept courtes, and ministred iustice in their own tongues, and that during the time of his reigne, whiche continued by the space of .56. yeres, he neuer neded the helpe of any interpreter betwene him and any of the nacions being vnder his obeisaunce & subiection, but would talke withall and singular persones of thesaied nacions in their own languages. He kept warre against the Romaines many yeares. At last he was discomfaicted by *Lucius Scylla*, and vtterly ouercommed by *Pompeius Magnus*. And at last being besieged in a certain castle by his owne sonne, he toke poyson to destroye himselfe, but when he sawe that it would not worke vpon him (for he had by the continuaunce of long and many yeres, accustomed himselfe to take euery daie preseruatiues & immediatly vpon the preseruatiues to take poyson purposely, that if any soche chaunce fell it might not hurte him) he called one of his trustie seruauntes to slea him, and where as the feloe being with the very sight of his maister dismaied, failed in herte, nor had the power to execute that deed *Mithridates* called him backe again, and helped his hand to the ministerie of cutting his owne throte.

19. When the frendes of Antigonus aduised hym, that in case he should winne and take the Citee of Athenes, he should fense and ward thesame with strong fortresses, and sure garisons, to thende that it might no more fall to rebellion, & that he should with most earnest cure and diligence kepe it, as the foundament, the staie, or the leaning poste of all Grece: he aunswered that he had euermore been of this mynde, that he beleued none to be a more sure fortresse or garison of a royalme then the beneuolence and hertie loue of the subiectes towardes their prince.

Athenes the foundamente of all Grece, and the onelie poste to leane to.

The most sure garrison of a realme, is the beneuolence of the subiectes towardes their Prince.

20. Thesame Antigonus when he heard reported that all the other kynges of Grece had conspired his destruction, woundrous presumpteously aunswered, that he would with one stone, & with one shought make them al to take their heeles and to ren euery man his waye, euen as one should spring a whole flight of byrdes pecking vp corne newly sowen.

What *Antigonus* saied when it was shewed him that al the other kinges of Grece, had conspired his exterminacion.

☞ But neuerthelesse in this battaill was *Antigonus* slain, and *Demetrius* vanquished and put to flight, and al their kingdome spoiled, and parted emong *Antiochus Seleucus*, and the other Princes that made warre against theim, as testifieth *Plutarchus* in the life of the saied *Demetrius*.

When

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When Antigonus had camped in the browes or edges of felles and cliefes, and in places all vneuen and full of pittes, arising and hanging in height muche aboue the plain champian grounde, Pyrrhus after pitching his tentes about Naplia, sent on the next morow by an harald of armes to bidde him come downe into the plain, & there to assaie and trie what he could dooe in battaill. But Antigonus made answer, that his maner of battring stode not a whit more in the furniture of harnesse and ordinaunce, then in the oportunitee of times when to fight, and that for Pyrrhus, (in case thesame were wery of his life) there wer wayes many enough open or readye to dispetche & ridde him out of the worlde. 21.

This was at the siege of *Argos* a noble citee in *Achaia*. For *Pyrrhus* & *Antigonus* came thither both at one time, and both in mynde and purpose to win the citee. But the *Argiues* sending to either of theim Ambassadours, & praiyng theim to holde their handes, and to absteine from doing iniurie to a foren citee whiche neither of theim bothe had anye right or title vnto, *Antigonus* promised to departe and gaue vnto the *Argiues* in hostage thereof his sonne *Alcyoneus*. But *Pyrrhus*, where as he promised to doe thesame, yet did it not, but by night entreed the citee vnawares and vnknowyng to the *Argiues* till he was euen in the middes of their high streete. Then were the *Argiues* fain to desire *Antigonus* to come with aide and rescue and so he did. And ther and then was *Pyrrhus* slaine.

Antigonus beyng asked the question, Whiche of all the capitaines of his time, he iudged to surmount all others in worthinesse, Marie, * Pyrrhus (quoth he againe) if he might liue to be an old man. 22.

¶ He gaue not a determinate sentence, that *Pyrrhus* was alreadie the verie best, but that he was like to be the principall best in deede, if age & continuaunce of tyme might acquire, the experience and perfect knowlage of thynges.

* *Pyrrhus* was king of the *Epirotes* (a nacion betwene *Macedonie* and *Illyricum* whiche *Illiricum* is now called *Slauonie*) moche praised of all writers, for a gentle and a courteous king, wittie, politike, quick in his buisinesse, auenturous and hardie, and of soche a stiering nature, that (as *Plutarchus* in his life testifieth) neither hauing gotten any victorie or conquest, nor yet being venquished or ouercomed, he could quiet himself to be in rest and peace. And *Plutarchus* in the life of *Anniball*, and also of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* telleth, that when *Scipio* emong many other thinges, required *anniball* to shewe him, euen as he thought in his minde whom he reputed of all that euer had been, or were then aliue, to be the moste worthie and moste noble capitain of an army. Marie (quoth *Annibal*) *Alexander*

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exander the greate, I esteme to be chief and principall, and next vnto him *Pirrhus*, & my self the third. And of thesame *Pirrhus* he saied at an other time, that if he had had the feacte to hold and kepe an Empire, as well as he could achiue and winne it, he had had no cousin. Al this was doen when *Pirrhus* would haue taken the Citee of *Argos*, as is saied in the annotacion of the *apophthegme* next afore going.

23. The tendernes of *Antigonus* towardes his soldiours if thei were sicke.

Thesame Antigonus seyng one of his soldiours, beyng in all behalfes, or, at all assaies stoute and valiaunt, and foreward or prest to enterprise all maner hasardes or auentures, to bee not verie well at ease in his bodie, demaunded what was the matter, that he loked so pale and wan of colour. When the partie had confessed vnto hym a priuie disease, liyng within his bodie. Antigonus commaunded his Phisicians, that if it might possibly by any meanes be doen thei should giue medicins that might cure him. But the soldier being now clene ridde of his maladie, begon to waxe euill willing, slacke, & lothe to fight, and with lesse forewardnes, to put himself in any perilles or daungers. The king greatly meruailling there at, asked of him, what was the cause of his minde so chaunged. Then saied the soldiour: For soth sir, euen you and no man els hath been the cause. For when I liued in continuall anguishe and pein, I had no feare of my life, beeyng in soche case, but now, sens by your meanes, my life is becom more dere vnto me, I am moche more charie, that it maie not be lost.

Felicitee maketh menne timorous and false harted.

24. This *Antigonus* was the firste king of that name and there was besides him an other *Antigonus* the seconde king of *Macedonie*.

Antigonus the first vnto a certain Sophiste, offryng him a booke, conteinyng a traictise of iustice, saied: Certes thou art an vnwise man, whiche, where thou seest me with all ordeinaunce of warre, werkyng and doing mischief, to the citees of foreners, yet neuerthelesse, wilt nedes talke to me of iustice.

¶ His

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¶ His meanyng was, that soche persones as either for the enlargyng of their dominion, or els for to purchace glorie and renoume, doen make warre vpon alien citees, or foren countrees, can not saue the lawes of iustice vpright.

Soche persons as for Empire or for glorie doen inuade foren citees, cannot saue the lawes of Iustice vpright.

25.

Antigonus the first, when he had often times suffred Bias importunatly, troubleing him with begging this and that: at last beyng ouercomed with werinesse thereof, Sirs, (quoth he) deliuer vnto Bias a talent, though it bee perforce and againste my stomake.

With what wordes *Antigonus* gaue a talent vnto *Bias*, of whose importune crauyng he could not be ridde.

¶ Signifing that *Bias* had not with his good harte and will, obteined that benefite, but rather had forceably and by violence extorted thesame, with importune and endelesse crauyng.

26.

Antigonus, when he had heard in the derke night season, certain of his soldiours wishyng all the mischief possible, vnto the kyng, that had brought them into that euill pece of waie, and into that moire, not possible to wade through, or to geat out of, he came to them that were moste encombred, and when he had dispeched them out of the moire (the parties not knowyng who had succoured and holpen them, so wel to passe through it: Now, (quoth he) curse Antigonus by whose fault ye haue fallen into this encombreaunce, but wishe well to thesame, and praie for him, that he hath now recouered you againe, and brought you out of this goulfe or quauemoire.

The excedyng humanitee and most noble hart of *Antigonus*, in auenging euill wordes spoken by hym.

¶ With this sole auengement, was the right noble hart of this kyng contented and satisfied.

27.

Thesame Antigonus when the Grekes wer besieged, in a little pretie pile or castle and the same Grekes, vpon thaffiaunce and boldnesse of the place (☞ because it was a verie strong holde, of so smal a thing) setting their enemie at naught, made moche

Antigonus lowe of stature, and hauing a flatte nose.

What *Antigonus* saied when the Grekes, whom he besieged in a castle, iested & railled at hym ouer the walles

How men taken priesoners in battaill, wer vsed in old time.

The humanitie of *Antigonus* and lenitee toward his enemies.

moche and great iestyng, at the deformitee and bleamishes of Antigonus, and made many mockes and skornes, now at his dwarfishe low stature, and now at his nose as flat as a cake, bruised or beaten to his face: I am glad yet (quoth he) and trust to haue some good chaunce and fortune by it, now that I haue * Silenus in myne armie. And after that he had with lacke of vitailles, brought those choploges or greate pratlers, as lowe as dogge to the bow (as the maner is to do with soche persones, as are taken prisoners in warre, that is to wete, soche as maie doe good seruice in warre to be appoincted, sorted, and placed vnder one baner or an other, emong the ordinarie soldiours, and the residue to bee offred to sale by an open crie) he saied that he would not doe so with them neither, sauing for that it was expedient for them, to haue some maister, to correcte and punishe them, which had soche naughtie tongues.

¶ This saiyng I suppose to be al one with that whiche *Plutarchus* maketh mencion of, sauyng that it is otherwise tolde of *Seneca*.

* *Silenus* was the fosterfather of *Bacchus*, whom for his monstreous misshape, & for his fonde toies, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Mercurie* and *Vulcan*, and the vniuersall compaignie of the Poeticall Goddes, vsed for their foole (soche as our princes and noble men haue now of daies) to make them sport and pastime to laugh at. For it was an euill disfigured apishe body, croumpe shouldred, short necked, snatnosed, with a Sparowes mouth, full of vngracious prankes of laughter, clad in a fooles cote, neuer without his belle and his cockes combe, and his instrument whereon to plaie toodle loodle bagpipe, moche after the facion of fooles (soche as are exhibited in Morice daunces, and soche as are peinted in many papers or clothes with wide mouthes, euer laughing with their Jille, hauing fooles hoodes on their heds, with long asses eares.) By the paterne and likenesse of this *Silenus*, wer deuised and made in old time, to set in the galaries and chambers of noblemen, little monstreous and eluishe mishapen Images, so wrought that thei might be taken one piece from an other, and that thei had leaues to fold and to open. These Images being shut close represented nothing, but the likenesse of a fonde and an euill fauoured mishappen bodie, made like a foole, blowing on a bagpipe, or a shalme, or on some other facioned pipe, but thesame being vnfolded and spred abrode, shewed some high misticall matter, and some excellente piece of werke full of maiestee, moste contrarie to that it shewed, to be at the first vieu when it

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it was shut. Unto this sort of Images doeth *Alcibiades* in the werke of *Plato*, entitled, the Banquet, compare and liken *Socrates*, because thesame was a moche other maner man, if one sawe him throughlie, and tooke view of his minde and harte within, then at the first blushe, in apparaunce of bodie he semed to be (as who lusteth to reade, maie se more at large in the prouerbe *Sileni Alcibiadis*, in the chiliades of Erasmus.) And to thesame alluded *Antigonus* signifiyng, that although he wer of personage, of feacture, and in shape not moste comelie, nor all of the beste made, yet in good qualitees of the minde, in feactes of policie, in Marcialle prowesse, in knowlege of gouerning a realme, and in all semblable princelie vertues, he gaue place to none other of his progenitours, the kinges that had been tofore him. Yet *Plutarchus* saieth in the life of *Demetrius*, that thesame *Demetrius* was a verie tall manne of personage and stature, and yet not althing so tall as his father.

Thesame Antigonus when he had taken vp in his hande an instrument, written in greate letters of texte hande: Yea Marie (quoth he) these letters are big enough to se, euen for a blinde mannes iyes. 28. *Antigonus* iested at the impedimente of his owne iyes.

¶ Jestyng at the bleamishe and impediment of his own *iyes. For he had no more but one iye to see withall. But those same words, an other bodie should not haue spoken without ieoperdie, and perill of his beste iointe, whiche thyng euen so proued, and came in vre by † *Theocritus* the *Chian*, of whom in an other place and tyme shalbe mencioned. *Antigonus* being a singulare good manne of war in his yong lustie yeares, when *Philippus* the father of *Alexander*, laie in siege of *Perinthus* (a noble citee of *Thracia*, in the coste of *Propontis* now called *Heraclea*) had the one of his iyes striken cleane out with the shotte of a quarell, out of a crosse bowe. And many persones approchyng vnto hym, and addressyng to plucke out the quarrell, *Antigonus* would not suffre them, but let it sticke still, neither did he plucke it out or departe aside or ceasse fighting, vntill he had discomfaicted his enemies, within the walles of the citee, and put them to flight.

† The historie of *Theocritus* the *Chian*, doeth Erasmus write in the .vi. booke of his *Apophthegmes*, as foloweth: When *Theocritus* had been attached and should be brought afore the king *Antigonus* and the persones whiche led him by the armes, bid him to bee of good chere, for that he should escape, and bee aswell as euer he had been, at the firste houre of his coming vnto the kinges iyes. Naie (quoth *Theocritus*) now ye put me clene out of all hope of my life to bee saued. Geuyng a sore bityng, or bloudie worde towardes the king, that he had but one iye, and not iyes. The king no soner heard of the feloes iesting, but he commaunded thesame streight waies to be hanged on the galoes.

Kyng Antigonus, when woorde was brought vnto him, that his sonne Alcyoneus was slaine fightyng in the fielde: stoode hanging doune his hed a pretie space, musing or studiyng with himself 29. What *Antigonus* saied when he heard that his sonne *Alcy-*

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oneus was slain in battaill.

self in his mind, and within a while he brake out into these wordes: O my sonne Alcioneus thou hast chaunged life for death, not so sone as of right thou shouldest haue doen, which hast so vndiscretely assailed thine enemies and auentured vpon them, not hauyng regard neither of thine owne life, nor of my often warnynges to beware.

Antigonus thought hym not worthie to be mourned for that had been cast awaie thorowe his owne folie.

¶ He thought his owne sonne not worthie to bee mourned or sorowed for, whiche had through his owne folie miscaried, & had ben the procurer of his own casting awaie. This is tolde of the report of *Plutarchus.*

30. Thesame Antigonus seyng his sonne Demetrius somewhat fierslie or roughlie, and after a straunge sort of lordlinesse, vsing or handlyng his subiectes, ouer whiche he had empier and dominion, saied: Sonne art thou ignoraunt, that our state of reigning, or beyng kinges, is a seruitude faced or set out, with dignitee & worship?

Reigne or Empire, sauing for the dignitee is a mutualle seruitude.

¶ Nothyng might possibly be spoken, with more high wit or prudence. For aswell is the prince constreined to serue the commoditee of the people, as the people to serue the turne of the Prince, sauyng that the Prince dooeth it with a prerogatiue of dignitee, that thyng accepted, in verie deede it is a muttual seruitude, of the one partie to the other.

A prince perpetualliecareth for the welth of his subiectes.

☞ For the prince bothe night and daie, perpetually careth for the safegard, tranquilitee, defense, commoditees, wealthe, and auauncemente of his subiectes, neuer satisfied ne pleased with his owne felicitee, excepte it bee all well with his people to.

¶ Now to the entent that wee maie after a sorte make some likely matche of Romaines with the Grekes, we shall to *Alexander* sette *Iulius Cesar*, to *Philip* we shall sette *Augustus*, and to *Antigonus* we shall tourne *Pompeius* of Roome.

¶ *The*

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¶ *The saiynges of Augustus Caesar.*

☞ *Octauius Augustus Cesar* was the sonne of *Octauius* by *Iulius Cesars* sisters doughter, whiche *Iulius Cesar* the first perpetuall Emperour of Rome, had before his death made a will, by whiche he adopted, that is to say freely chose thesaid *Augustus* to be his sonne and heire, and executour, and successour, *Augustus* then beeyng a young man absent from Rome, a scholare or studente in *Apollonia* (a good citee of *Macedonie* 7. miles from the sea into the lande ward, at the first inhabited by *Corinthians*, purposelie sent thether to inhabite, when it was deserte) afterward this *Augustus* being come to Rome, and set in possession of soche gooddes, as thesaid *Iulius* had lefte vnto him, and hauing pourchased the fauour and benouolence of the citezens, by reason of distributing certain legacies of *Iulius* vnto the people, he ioyned himself in societee with *Marcus Antonius*, & *Marcus Lepidus*. And these three diuided all the whole Empier of Rome betwene them, to hold by strong hande, as it had been by a iuste and right title of enheritaunce due vnto them. In processe *Augustus* and *Antonius* (not withstanding all bondes of societee, league, and alliaunce) fell out, and warred either againste the other, *Antonius* at length was driuen into Egipt, where he was receiued into the citee of *Alexandria*, and aided by *Cleopatra* the quene there (who loued him.) And there did he gore himself through the bealie with a sworde. And *Augustus* tooke *Cleopatra*, and all her richesse and iewelles, and wonne the citee, &c.

1. *Rhymerales* king of the *Thracians* forsooke *Antonius*, and tooke the part of *Augustus Caesar*.

WHen Rhymerales kyng of the Thracians (who had emong other kinges mo forsaken Antonius, and taken the parte of Augustus) did at a certain banquet verie arrogantly, or with many high braggyng wordes, make greate vaunte of his desertes towardes Cæsar, and without ende entwityng thesame, with taking his part in warre, made moch tittle tattle, nor would in nowise linne pratyng thereof: Cæsar makyng as though he marked not the reprochefull chattyng of thesaied Rhymirales, dranke to one other of the kinges, and saied: The treason I loue well, but the traitours I doe not commende.

What *Augustus Caesar* said when *Rhymerales* made vaunte of his desertes towardes him.

¶ Signifiyng, no thankes at all to be due vnto soche persones, as haue doen a man a good turne, by committing

No thanke at al is due to them that dooe an other bodie a pleasure, by committing

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treason on their owne behalf.

mitting treason on their own partie. For though the pleasure, that thei shewen be for the tyme acceptable, yet are the parties selues reputed for naughtie feloes, and breakers of league and faithfull promises afore made to an other.

2. When thinhabitauntes of Alexandria (☞ the hedde citee of all Egypte) after their citee entred and taken by force of armes, thought to haue none other grace, but vtter exterminacion by fier and bloudshed, Augustus got him vp into an high place, taking with hym euen by the hande, one Arius a Philosophier of thesame citee borne, and saied vnto the people, that he did freelie perdon the citee: first for the greatnes and goodlinesse of the citee self: secondarily, for the respecte of Alexander the great, that was the firste founder, edifier, and builder of it: and finally for to do his frende Arius a pleasure.

The clemencie of *Augustus* towardes the *Alexandrines* when he had won & taken their cite.

For what causes *Augustus* frelie perdoned the citee of *Alexandria.*

Arius a Philosophier of *Alexandria*, to whom *Augustus* for his lerning shewed moche honor & frendship & familiaritee.

¶ It was a poincte of mercifulnesse, not many times seen or heard of, not to riefle or spoile a citee whiche had moste stubbernely and obstinatly rebelled, but no lesse praise deserued, that same his greate ciuilitee, that the thanke of soche a benefit as this was, he toke not to himself, but gaue one yea, and the principall parte of thesame vnto the citee self, an other porcion he attributed vnto *Alexander*, whose memoriall he knewe to be of moste high acceptacion emong the *Alexandrines*, the third piece he put ouer to *Arius*, a burgoise of thesame Citee, with so high a title, commendyng and setting forthe his frende, vnto his owne countremen.

And (as *Plutarchus* in the life of *Marcus Antonius* writeth) euen at this tyme, besides this highe point of honor shewed towardes *Arius*, he did at the intercession of the same, perdon many particulare persones, whiche had dooen him moche displeasure, and had deserued not onelie his displeasure, but also all extremitee.

3. When it was complained vnto Augustus, that one Erotes the solliciter of Egypte had bought a quaille, whiche in fightyng would beate as many as

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as came, and at no hande could be beaten, or put to the worse, and the same quaille beyng rosted, to haue eaten vp euery morsell: he commaunded the feloe to be brought afore him, and the cause well discussed, immediatly vpon the parties confessyng of the cause, he commaunded thesame to be hanged vp on the top of a maste of a ship.

Erotes the solliciter of *Egypt*, put to death by *Augustus* for eating of a quaille.

¶ Judgyng hym vnworthie to liue, who for so small a delite of his owne throte, or deintee mouthe, had not spared a birde, whiche in fightyng might many a long daie, and to many a persone, haue shewed pleasure and solace, and the whiche furthermore, by a certain gladde signe of good lucke to ensue, betokened vnto *Caesar* perpetuall successe, and prosperyng in his warres.

In the countree of Sicile, in the steede or place of Theodore, he made Arius capitain or lieuetenaunte. And when a certain persone put vp vnto Cæsar a supplicacion or bille of complaint, in whiche were writen these woordes: The pield pated Theodore of Tharsus was a briber and a theefe, what semeth you? the bil perused, Augustus subscribed nothing but this onely, Mesemeth. 4.

Tharsus the chief citee in *Cilicia*, where .s. Paule was borne.

Unto *Athenodorus a Philosophier, by the pretexte or excuse of olde age, makyng instaunt request that he might haue licence to departe home againe into his countree, Augustus graunted his desire. But when Athenodorus had taken his leaue, and all of the emperour, beyng in minde and will to leaue with thesame, some monumente or token of remembraunce, meete and seming for a Philosophier, this he said more then euer he had doen tofore. Sir emperor at what time thou shalt be angred, neither saie, ne do thou any thing, before that thou shalte haue rekened 5.

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What counsaill *Athenodorus* a Philosophier gaue vnto *Augustus* againste the furious heate of sodain anger

rekened vp by rewe, one after other in thy minde the names of the .24. letters of the Greke alphebete. Then Cæsar frendly taking the Philosophiers hand in his, said: Yet a while longer haue I nede of thy compaignie and presence about me. And so kept hym there with hym stil, euen a full yere more, allegyng for his purpose, that same the Prouerbe of the Grekes. Of faithfull silence, the rewardes are daungerlesse.

Of faithful silence the rewardes are daungerlesse.

¶ Either allowyng the Philosophiers sentence for that in deede to represse and keepe in ones anger, that it breaketh not out into wordes, were a thing sure and safe from all perill of after clappes: or els meanyng, that it should haue been a good turne to the Philosophier, if he had spoken no soch worde at the later ende, beyng in purpose and redinesse to departe his waie. Albeeit, soche an holsome and especialle good lesson, deserued to haue some roiall rewarde and recompense.

To kepe in angre that it brek not out into woordes, is a pointe of saftie.

An holsom lesson geuyng deserueth at the handes of a Prince an high recompense.

* *Athenodorus* a Philosophier in the time of *Augustus*. Ther was also an other *Athenodorus* a Philosophier of *Athenes*, of whom *Plutarchus* both in the life of *Alexander* and also of *Phocion* maketh mencion. And the .3. a werker of Imagerie in metalle, a *Rhodian* borne, of whom is mencioned in the .34. and in the .36. boke of *Plinie*.

6. When he had heard saie that Alexander being .32. yeres of age, after hauing passed ouer not a fewe regions or countrees of the worlde, had put a greate doubte what he might haue to doe, all the residue of his life to come, Augustus merualled moche, if Alexander had not iudged it a greater act or werke, well to gouerne an empire gotten, then to haue acquired or purchaced a large and ample dicion.

Alexander at the age of .32. yeres hauing won almoste all the world, doubted what he should haue to doe all the residue of his life.

How *Augustus* reproued the vnsaciable ambicion of *Alexander*.

¶ Of good right did he reproue the vnsaciable ambicion of *Alexander*, whiche had estemed none other office belongyng to a kyng, but to enlarge the precint or limites of his dominion, whereas it is a greate dele bothe a more goodly thing, & also more hard, with right

It is both more goodlie & also more hard with good lawes and

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right and iust lawes, and with honest or goodlie maners to beautifie a realme, that to a man is fallen then with dint of sworde, to adde kyngdome to kyngdome.

maners to adourne a kingdome, then by warre to adde realme to realm.

Augustus had enacted and published a Lawe concernyng adulterers, after what forme of processe, persones detected of this crime should be iudged, and what kinde of punishemente thesame should haue, if thei wer conuinced or found guiltie. Afterward in a rage or furie of wrathe, he flewe on a young man accused of hauyng to do with Iulia the doughter of Augustus, and all too poumleed thesame with his handes. But when the young man had cried out in this maner: O sir emperour, ye haue made and set forthe a lawe of this matter: it repented the emperour so sore of his doyng, that he refused to take or eate his supper that day.

7.

Augustus Cesar made a lawe, that there should be no adulterers, or if any soche wer found, that thei should bee punished. And it was called *Lex Iulia.*

Augustus with his own hands beate a young man, detected of hauing to dooe with *Iulia* his doughter.

¶ The offence euen of it self was hainous, and besides that, trespaced in the Emperours owne doughter. What prince in soche a case, could temper his dolour and anger? Or who in soche a case could abide the long processe of the lawes and of iudgementes? Yet this so greate a Prince, tooke soche displeasure with hymself, that he punished his owne persone, because he had not in all poyntes been obedient vnto the lawe, whiche hymself had geuen vnto others.

Augustus sore repented that he had in his fury doen contrarie to the law, whiche himself had made.

At what tyme he sent Caius his doughters sonne into the countree of * Armenia with an armie againste the Parthians, he wished of the Goddes, that there might go with hym, the † hartie beneuolence of men which Pompeius had, the auenturus courage ‡ that was in Alexander, and the § happie fortune that hymself had.

8.

What *Augustus* wished vnto *Caius*, his doughters sonne, when he sent him into *Armenia* on warfare against the *Parthians.*

¶ What was in euery of the saied three persones seuerally the chief & highest poincte, thesame did

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The humblenes and modestie of *Augustus.*

Augustus wish to be in one man alone. But as for this thing, truly it proceded of a singulare humblenesse that beyng a man in witte, in knowlege, and in pollicie excellyng, he ascribed his owne noble actes vnto Fortune. ☞ And would not take them vpon himself.

* *Armenia*, a realme in *Asia*, liyng betwene the two greate mountaines *Taurus* and *Caucasus*, and stretcheth on lengthe from the countree of *Cappadocia*, vnto the sea called *Mare Caspium.*

† Of *Pompeius* it is written, that neuer had any other person of the Romaines, the propense fauour and beneuolence of all the people, either soner begon in his young daies, or in his prosperitie on all behalfes, more assured and strong, or els when good fortune failled him, more constaunte in long continuing. And iuste causes there wer (saieth *Plutarchus* in his life) mo then one, wherfore the people did beare soche hartie loue towardes him, his chaste liuing, his expertnesse in feactes Marcial, his eloquence of tongue, to perswade any matter, his substanciall and true dealing, and his sobrenesse or humilitie to be communed withall. He neuer desired or asked any thing of any person, but with an heauie moode as one lothe to aske, he neuer did any thing at the request of an other, but with a glad chere, as one prest and readie to doe all persones good. And of his good gifts or graces, one was to giue nothing after a disdainful or stately sort, an other to receiue nothing, but as though it had been a large and high benefite, were it in deede neuer so slender. Euen of his childhoode, he had a countenaunce or looke, of no small grace to allure and winne the hartes and fauour of the people, &c.

‡ Of the stomake, courage and hardinesse of *Alexander*, besides the testimonie of *Plutarchus*, of *Quintus Curtius*, and of other historiographiers, sufficient declaracion maie be taken by his ieopardiyng to ride the vnbroken horse *Bucephalus*, of whicth in the .xl. *Apophthegme* of *Alexander* it is afore mencioned) & by auenturing ouer the flood of *Granicus*, wherof read in the .5. *apophthegme* of *Alexander*. Neither was there any so hie, so harde, or so daungerous an enterprise, that *Alexander* would feare to attempt and to auenture. At the age of .16. yeres he set vpon the *Megarians*, and thesame discomfited and vanquished. He sought the waie to the temple of *Ammon* through wildernesse, where bothe he and all his compainie should haue been lost, had it not fortuned him to be brought into his waie again, and to be conducted or guided by a flight of Crowes. In pursuyng *Darius* he rode .400. miles in x. daies vpon one horse. At the toune of *Gordium* (the principal toune of all *Phrygia*) whereas there was in the temple of *Iupiter* a waine with thonges, writhen and wound with so diffuse a knotte, that no man could vndooe it, and a prophecie depending of thesame, that whosoeuer could vndoe the knot, should achiue and obtein the Empire of the whole vniuersal worlde. *Alexander* perceiuing the knot to be ouer buisie to bee vndooen with his handes, neglected all religin and superstitious feare, and with his sworde chopped me it quite in sonder at a stroke. These thinges and many others mo did *Alexander*, wherby is euident what stomake & corage he was of.

§ As touching the felicitie and good fortune of *Augustus*, *Cornelius Nepos* in the life of *Pomponius Atticus* saieth in this maner. So high and great prosperitee foloed *Augustus Caesar*, that fortune left nothing vngiuen to him, that euer she had at any time afore conferred, or purchaced to any liuing creature, and that was possible for a citezen of Rome to haue. Whiche he addeth, because *Augustus* was no king. For at that daie it was not leefull for a citezen of Rome to bee a king, and it was high treason if any man attempted to be a king.

He

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He said he would leaue behind him vnto the Romaines, soche a successour in the Empier, as neuer consulted or tooke deliberacion twis of one matter. 9. The readie wit and policie of *Tiberius*.

¶ Meanyng by *Tiberius* ☞ a manne of a verie readie witte and of greate policie.

On a tyme when his minde was to pacifie certaine young gentlemen of high dignitee, and thei tooke no regarde vnto his wordes, but persisted in their querele and noise makyng: Heare me, ye young memne (quoth Augustus) to whom beyng but a yong man, olde folkes haue geuen eare. 10. The authoritie of *Augustus*, euen of a young manne.

¶ For *Augustus* beyng scacely come to mannes state, was put to haue doynges in the common weale, & was of right high autoritee. With this onely saiyng he appeaced the parties that were at strief, neither did he minister any ferther punishemente to thesame, for the troubleous rumour and noise by them areised and stiered vp. The clemencie of *Augustus*.

When the people of Athenes semed to had trespaced against him in a certain matter, he wrote vnto theim from the Citee of Aegina, in this maner. I suppose not it to bee to you vnknowen that I am angry with you. And in deede I purpose not to lye here at Aegina al this winter to come? 11. What *Augustus* wrote to the *Atheniens* hauing trespaced against him.

¶ Neither did he any thyng els speake or doe vnto the saied *Atheniens*, rekenyng sufficient to manace and threaten theim, onlesse thei would surceasse so to abuse hym.

When one of the accusers of Euclides takyng his libertee and pleasure, to tell his tale at large, and to speake euen his bealy full, at the laste had gone so ferre, that he spake moche what these wordes folowing: If all these thynges seme 12.

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seme not to your grace high and great matters, commaunde him to render vnto me the seuenth volume of Thucidides: Cæsar beyng highly displeased with those wordes, commaunded the saied accuser to be had to warde. But as sone as he heard that thesame partie was alone remaining aliue of the ofspring of * Brasidas, he bidde thesame come to hym, and after a moderate or gentle correpcion, let hym go at his libertee.

The clemencie of *Augustus*.

* *Brasidas* a stout and valiaunte capitain of the *Lacedemonians*, slain in battail in defending the Grekes, whiche inhabited *Thracia*. For at his first setting forth towardes battail, he wrote vnto the officers of *Lacedemon*, that either he would put of for euer, all the eiuill that was in battaill, or els he would dye for it. And when woorde of his death was brought by ambassadours, purposely sent therefore to his mother *Archileonide*, at the first woorde that euer she spake, she demaunded whether *Brasidas* had died with honour or not. And when the *Thracians* praised his manhode, and said that the citee of *Lacedemon* had not his feloe lefte in it, Yes yes (quoth the woman again) full little doe ye knowe, what maner feloes the *Lacedemonians* are. In deede (quoth she) *Brasidas* was a right good man of his handes, but yet the citee of *Lacedemon*, hath many better mennes bodies then *Brasidas* was. For the respecte and memorie of this noble and valiaunte capitain, *Augustus* perdoned the vnmeasurable accusar of *Euclides*.

13. Unto Piso substancially buildyng an hous, euen from the foundacion vnto the vttermoste raftreyng and reiring of the roofe, Augustus saied: O Piso, thou puttest me in good cumfort, and makest my harte glad, in that thou so makeste thy buildynges, as though Rome must euer endure, and continue to the worldes ende.

What *Augustus* saied vnto *Piso* building a substancial hous.

Augustus enterpreted the doynges of men to the better parte and not to the worse.

¶ He was not offended with the ouer curious furniture of edifiyng: but that some other prince would haue suspected and mistrusted to meane some spiece† of tirannie, *Augustus* turned vnto a gladde beginnyng and prophecie of the Empire of Rome long to endure. Thus ferre hath *Plutarchus* in his treatise of *Apophthegmes*. ☞ The *Apophthegmes* folowing, are for the most part taken of *Macrobius*, and out of *Suetonius*.

† After the expulsion and finall exterminacion of kinges out of the Citee of Roome, if any man either had any high or large mansion place, or attempted any sumptuous or ample building, he encurred suspicion of tyrannie, & of taking a kinges croun and power vpon him: in so moche, that *Valerius Publicola* a noble man of Roome, and one of the chief doers in expulsing *Tarquinius* the proude, the last king of Roome, because he

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he had a faire hous and high, and nere vnto the kinges palaice, was not free of that suspicion, but to declare himself, was faine to pulle doune his hous sticke and stone, euen to the plain ground. Thesame thing purchaced vnto *Pompeius* also, and diuers others moche enuy, & suspicion of vsurping a kinges power, which to do in *Rome* at those daies, was the most high & ranke treason that could be.

14. The tragedie of *Augustus* called *Aiax*.

Augustus had written a tragedie entitled Aiax, and thesame tragedy afterward (bicause it misliked him) he wiped out with a spounge. So, when one Lucius a writer of tragedies demaunded, what is Aiax did? By my faith (quoth Augustus woundrous merely again) he hath renne hymself through with a spounge.

Augustus his *Aiax* ran himself throughe with a spounge

¶ Alluding to the argument or matter of the enterlude, in the whiche it is conteined, that * *Aiax*, as sone as he wist what thynges he had bothe said and doen, in the tyme of his madnesse, ranne or sounke doune vpon the poinct of his owne sworde, and killed hymself.

* This *Aiax* was the sonne of *Telamon* and of *Hesione* the doughter of *Laomedon* and was the moste valiaunt and moste worthie knight of all the Grekes, next after *Achilles*. But when *Achilles* was slaine, *Aiax* required to haue his harnesse and weapon, as a manne moste apt and meete to haue the wearing and vse of it. *Vlysses* also made suite for thesame, & by help of his eloquent tong preuailled against *Aiax*, and had thesaid harnesse deliuered vnto him by the iudges. For angre whereof *Aiax* fell madde, and in his madnesse went emong an heard of cattaill, and slue a greate nomber of theim, wening to him that he had slain *Vlysses* and his compaignie. Afterward being come to himself again, when he considered his folies, he killed himself, sinking doune on the poinct of his awn sword.

15. What *Augustus* said to one fearefullie putting vp a supplicacion vnto hym.

To a certaine persone presentyng vnto him a supplicacion fearfully, now putting forth his hande, and now pullyng it backe again, he said: What? doest thou thinke thy self to geue a penie to an Elephant.

¶ For little boies vsed to hold forthe and geue little pieces of coigne to an Elephante, whiche pieces of coigne, thesame Elephant (not without the woundryng of the beholders) will in soche wise snatch vp quickly with his long snoute, that he will not hurt the childes hande. In thesame wise do we se children put their hand into the yanyng mouth of beares, not without our feare. It was to this most good prince a mater of grief, that he was feared.

It was greuous to *Augustus* that he was feared.

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16. When one Pacinnius Taurus asked a rewarde of him, allegyng to be spred abrode by the commen voice of the people, that no small somme of money had been geuen to him by the Emperour: Well (quoth Cæsar) yet be not thou of minde to beleue it.

How *Augustus* auoided one *Pacinnius* asking a reward of hym beyng not disposed to geue.

¶ By a pleasaunt worde of ieste doyng hym to wete, that he would none geue hym. The other partie looked to haue it come to passe, that *Cesar* would saue his honestie, lest that (in case it should come to light and be openly knowen, the saied bruite and communicacion of the people to bee nothyng true) he should be had in derision. But *Augustus* shewed him an other remedie, whiche was, that he shuld suffre the people to talke their pleasure, & to saie what thei would, so that thei persuaded not to hym, the thyng that were false.

17. An other persone beyng dismissed & put from the capitainship of a companie of horsemen, was not afeard for all that to require of Augustus a greate fee to, by this colour, allegyng himself not to aske soche waiges or pension for any lucre or gaines, But (saith he) to the ende that I maie appere to haue obteined soche rewarde or recompense by your graces iudgement, and so maie be verely beleued, not to haue ben put from mine office against my wil, but willinly to haue resigned and giuen it vp: Well (quoth Augustus) saie thou to euery bodie that thou haste receiued it, & I will not saie naie.

How *Augustus* auoided a feloe asking a pension when he was putte from the capitainship of a compaignie of horsemen.

¶ If nothyng els moued the crauer, but onely the feare of shame and reproche, a waie was shewed by whiche he might aswell saue his honestee emong the people, as if he had in deede receiued the money, that he asked.

18. A certain yong man named Herennius being with many vices corrupted, the emperour had commaunded

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commaunded to auoide his campe and armie. And when the partie being discharged of his roume, did with falling on his knees, & with moste lamentable blubberyng or weepyng in this maner, beseche the Emperour not so to put him awaie: Alas sir, with what face shall I retourne into my countree? And what shall I saie vnto my father? Marie (quoth Augustus) saie, that I haue lost thy fauour.

¶ Bicause the yong man was ashamed to confesse, that hymself had encurred the disfauor of *Cesar*, *Cesar* permitted him to tourne the tale in and out, and laie the wite or blame on hymself the saied *Augustus*.

19. How *Augustus* did put to silence a souldiour of vnmeasurable gloriyng of his actes and woundes receiued in battaill.

A certain souldiour of his, hauing been striken with a stone in a viage on warfare and beyng therby with a notable scarre of the wounde in his forehed disfigured, because he bare the open marke of an honest wound, bosted and craked beyond al measure, of the greate actes that he had dooen. The presumptuous vauntyng of this soldiour, Augustus thus chastised after a gentle sorte: Well sir, (quoth he) yet beware that ye looke backe no more in your renning awaie.

¶ Halfe notifiyng that it might full well bee, that the wounde, which he gloried and bragged of so highly, he caught not in fightyng manfully, but in fleyng cowardly.

20. The feact and mery aunswere of *Augustus* vnto *Galba*.

One Galba hauyng a bodie misshapen with a greate bunche, whiche bossyng out made hym crookebacked (in so moche that there wente a common saiyng on hym, The wit of Galba to be lodged in an euil dwellyng place) where this Galba pleadyng a cause before Augustus, euery other while saied these wordes, Emende and streighten me Cæsar, if ye shall see in me any thyng worthie to bee reprehended or disallowed: Naie

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Naie Galba (said Augustus) I maie tell thee what is amisse, but streighten the I cannot.

¶ A thyng is saied in Latin *corrigi*, and in Englishe to bee emended or streightened, that is reproued or disallowed, and also that of crooked is made streight.

21. When a greate mainy persones arrained at ones, at the pursuite and accusacion of Seuerus Cassius were dispetched and rid in iudgemente euery one of them, and the carpenter with whom Augustus had couenaunted & bargained, for edifiyng a court hous, where to sit in iustice, delaied hym a long time, with continuall looking and lookyng, when that werke should be finished? Full gladly would I (quoth Cæsar) that Cassius had accused my Courte * hous too.

Augustus wyshed that *CassiusSeuerus* had accused his court hous that he had put to making, for then it shoulde haue ben rid and dispetched as all those were whom thesaied *Cassius* accused.

¶ He founde a matter of iestyng, in a vocable of double significacion. For bothe a piece of werke, is saied in Latin, *absolui*, and in Englishe, to be despetched or ridde, that is finished and brought to a perfect ende, and also a persone that in a matter of iustice or lawe, is quitte and deliuered. Bothe a maister Carpenter riddeth his werke, and also a Judge riddeth a persone aunsweryng before hym to the lawe at the barre.

* The Latine woorde, *Forum*, in one significacion is a court hous, or a place where to sit in iustice, soche as is Westminster hall, or the stere chamber, or guild halle. And wee reade of three soche court houses, or Guilde halles in Roome, one that was called *forum latium*, or *forum Romanum*, whiche the aunciente Romaines vsed at the beginning: the seconde that was called *forum Caesaris dictatoris*, whiche *Iulius Caesar* builded, and had there standing his Image in harnesse like a capitain, and a knight of puissaunce: and the .3. *Augustus* erected within the temple of *Mars*, that was called, *Vltor*, *Mars* the auenger.

22. In old tyme greate was the obseruaunce of sepulchres: and that porcion of mennes groundes, whiche was especially appoincted for their monumentes or graues, was not broken with any plough. Wherupon when one Vectius beyng with this poincte of religion nothing afeard, had eared vp his fathers graue, Augustus made

In old time the religion or obseruaunce of sepulchres was greate.

What *Augustus* saied when one *Vectius*

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a pleasaunt ieste of it, saiyng: Yea Marie, this is euen in verie deede to harroe and visite ones fathers monument. brake his owne fathers Graue with a plough.

¶ Yet ones again he dalied with a worde of double significacion. For the latine verbe, *colere*, in one significacion is to honour or to worship, and in an other significacion it is to tille or to housbande, as grounde or any other sembleable thyng is housebanded. ☞ Whiche I translate to harroe or to visite, as we saie that Christe harroed hel, and visited hell, when he descended doune to hel, immediatlie after his passion, and pourged, scoured, or clensed thesame of soche soules as him pleased. And visiting is in Englishe, a kind of shewing honour, as we visite sicke folkes and prisoners, to doe them honor and comfort. It had been a double *amphibologie*, ☞ at lest wise for the Latine. If in stede of, monumente, he had saied, memoriall, as I thinke *Augustus* did saie in deede. For vnto vs high and holie is the memorialle of those, whom beyng out of this life departed, we honour, ☞ (as the memorialle of all sainctes & al folkes departed in the true faith of Christ. And the monumentes of persones deceassed, we cal their memorials by imitacion of the Grekes, ☞ who callen thesame μνημεῖα, or, μνήματα.

When the bruite of Herode his crueltee was come to the eares of Augustus, howe that the saied Herode * had commaunded to be murdred and slain, all the young babes in Jewrie, as many as were not aboue the age of twoo yeres, and how that emong the mo Herode his owne soonne also had gone to the potte as well as the best: Yea (quoth Augustus) it is moche better to be Herode his hog, then his soonne. 23. It is better to be the hog of *Herode* (saied *Augustus*) then his soonne.

¶ *Herode* was a Jewe. And the Jewes of a greate conscience & of a rule doen abstein from eatyng of al maner swines flesh. ☞ So that *Herode* would kill no swine.

* It is, I thinke, to no christian manne vnknowen, the moste detestable slaughter of infantes, whiche *Herode* caused to be slain round about the precinctes of Bethleem, for the hatred of Iesus, and vpon the querele, that he had been mocked by the wise men that wer called, *Magi*, as appereth in the .2. Chapiter of the Gospell

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pell of Matthewe. And that the Iewes should eate no swines fleshe, was prescribed vnto them in the law of Moses by God himself, in the .xi. of Leuiticus, and in the .xxiiii. of Deuteronomium. Where are forbidden all vncleane meates. And vncleane are accompted as many kindes of beastes, as doe not bothe diuide the hoof into twoo clawes and also chewe the cudde.

24. Augustus after the takyng and entring the citee of Alexandria, had graunted life to many persones, for Arius the Philosophiers sake: yet one Sostratus (a man in deede of a verie readie tongue, and especiall good vttraunce, but yet of soche sort, that he encurred the indignacion of Cæsar, for that vndiscretly or harebrainlike, he would nedes in any wise bee reputed and taken for an Academique) he wold not hear, ne receiue to grace. But the said Sostratus, in ragged apparell, as one that had no ioye of the world and with his hore white bearde, hangyng doune of a greate length, begun to folowe Arius at the heles, whethersoeuer thesame went, hauyng euer in his mouthe this little verse of Greke.

Of *Arius* and of the taking of *Alexandria*, it is noted afore in the .2. *apophthegme* of *Augustus*. *Sostratus* an *Alexandrine* a man of special good vtteraunce, but heddilie taking on hym to bee an *Academique*. Of philosophiers *academiques* is afore noted in the saiyng of *Plato*. Why *Augustus* would not at the first perdon *Sostratus* emong other of the *Alexandrines*, at the intercession of *Arius*.

σοφοὶ σοφοὺς οώζουσιν ἢν ὦσιν σοφοί.

Wise men, if in deede thei wise bee,
Can saue wise men, and make them free.

¶ By this craftie meanes he constreined *Caesar* in maner parforce, to geue hym perdone. ☞ Albeit *Cesar* perdoned him (saith *Plutarchus* in the life of *Antonius*) more for to deliuer *Arius* from enuie, then *Philostratus* from feare. For so doeth *Plutarchus* cal him, and not by the name of *Sostratus*.

25. When he was now .40. yeres olde and vpward, and laie from Rome in Gallia, it was by presentmente brought vnto hym, that Lucius Cinna a yong gentleman of noble birth, that is to saie, the neffewe of Pompeius, wrought treason against his person and went about to destruie him. Plain relacion was made, where, when, and how, the traitours entended to assaill hym. For thei had purposed & fully resolued to murder hym, when

Cinna the neffewe of *Pompeius* sought to destroy the persone of *Augustus*.

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when he should next be in doyng sacrifice. The enditement and sentence of atteindour of the saied Cinna was sette on werke to bee drawen and engrossed. But Augustus speakyng at that present, many wordes to this and that sondrie purposes, ☞ (Concernyng how *Cinna* should bee vsed) In cometh Liuia the wife of Augustus. Sir, said she, do ye accordyng to the guise and vsage of the Phisicians, who at soche times as the customable medicins will not werke, doen assaie and proue the contraries. With rigour and sharpe execucion, yet vnto this daie little haue ye preuailed, now an other while practise to be mercifull. Cinna being thus found and proued faultie or culpable, is not of power to doe a poinctes worthe of harme to your life, but to your renoume he maie doe moche good. Immediatly hereupon Augustus commaunded Cinna to bee sent for by himself alone, to come and talk with hym. As sone as he was come, the emperour caused an other chaire to bee set for Cinna. Then spake the Emperour & saied: First and foremust O Cinna, this I require of thee, that thou dooe not interrupte ne breake me of telling my tale. Thou shalte haue tyme and leasure enough, to saie thy minde at large, when I haue doen. Then after the rehersal of diuerse and sondrie his benefites towards Cinna, how that he had saued his life and pardoned hym, beeyng founde in the campe of his enemies: howe that he had releassed and graunted vnto him all his whole patrimonie and inheritaunce, ☞ (whiche of right he ought to haue forfaicted & lost) how that ouer and besides this, he had ornated, enhaunced or promoted hym, with the dignitee of a prebende, in a colledge of priestes: after the rehersall of al these thinges, he

A notable historie, how *Augustus Caesar* made a perpetuall frende of *Cinna*, who had secretlie wroughte hie treason against his persone to destroy him.

The counsail of *Liuia* the wife of *Augustus*, geuen to her husbande.

How *Augustus* vsed *Cinna*, beyng found and proued an offender in high treason against his persone.

The benefites of *Augustus Caesar* towardes *Cinna*.

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he demaunded for what cause Cinna thought him woorthie to bee killed. Cinna being herewith vtterly dismaid, Augustus in this maner ended his chiding. Wel Cinna, nowe this is twise that I perdone thee of thy life, ones afore beyng mine open enemie, and now the second tyme a werker of priue treason against me, and going about to destruie me thy naturall Prince. From this daie forthward let amitee and frendeship begin betwene vs twoo, let vs striue together, whether I haue more faithfullie to truste vnto, geuen thee thy life, or thou bounde vnto me for thesame. And foorthewith he offred vnto Cinna the Consulship.

¶ Will ye knowe thende what folowed? *Caesar* had of *Cinna* from thensforthe a verie assured frend, and when *Cinna* died, was made and left his sole executour and heire. Neither was *Augustus* any more after that daie, by any person liuyng assaulted with any priue treason against his persone.

26. Augustus vsed to saie naie, in maner to no persone that would desire hym to any banquet. And so being on a time receiued, and entreteined by a certain persone with a very spare supper, and in maner cotidian or ordinarie fare, when he should departe from the maker of the feast, he whispred softlie in his eare, nothyng but this: I had not thought my self to be so familiar vnto thee.

Augustus vsed not to saie nay, almoste to any persone that woulde desire him to any feaste or banquet.

What *Augustus* said to one who had entreteined him at a spare supper.

¶ Some other prince would haue enterpreted soche bare purueiaunce to bee a plain despite and mockage, but *Augustus* ferthermore saued the honestee of the partie that had desired hym to supper, imputing it vnto familiaritee, and that in the parties eare, lest thothers might thinke niggardship to bee vpbraided vnto hym, and caste in his teeth. What thing maie be more

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more amiable than this courtesie, in so great a Monarche, as at this daie vneth thirtie kynges set together, were well able throughlie to matche?

Augustus an high & mighty Prince.

27. Being about to buie a piece of purple of Tyros making, he found fault that it was ouer darke and sadde of colour. And when the seller said, Lift it vp on high sir, and then looke vp to it: Why then (quoth Cæsar) to haue the people of Rome saie, that I go well be seen in myne apparell, must I bee faine to walke on the solares or loftes of my hous?

Tyros an ysle where the beste purple was made.

28. Augustus had a biddell verie obliuius, wheras this sort of men ought chiefly emong all other thynges, to bee of specialle good memories. This biddell being about to go vnto the guilde hall, demaunded of the Emperour, whether his pleasure wer to commaunde him with any seruice thither: Mary (quoth Cæsar) take with thee our letters of * commendacion, for thou knowest no man there.

What a preatie quippe *Augustus* gaue vnto a biddell of his beyng a felowe very obliuious.

¶ And yet is it the proper office & dutie of soche biddelles (who wer called in latin † *Nomenclatores*) to haue perfecte knowlege and remembraunce of the names, of the surnames, and of the titles of dignitees of all persones, to thende that thei maie helpe the remembraunce of their maisters in thesame when neede is. Of whiche propretee was their name geuen them to. For thei were called *Nomenclatores*, by a woorde compouned of Latine and Greke mixt together.

The propre office and dutie of a biddell.

* Letters of commendacion, he meaned letters directorie, or letters of addresse, that is to saie, letters that should expressely contein, as well the name of euery person, that he had any matter vnto, as also the message that should bee doen or saied vnto thesame, that the biddell might not faill though he were of hymself forgetfull.

† *Nomenclator* is a vocable compouned of the Latine worde, *nomen* and of the Greke diccion κλήτωρ a caller, reherser, or rekener. So that *nomenclatores*, wer those that we call biddelles, to whom peculiarlie apperteineth to knowe by harte the names, orders and degrees of all persones. For their office was to call, and reken vp at all tymes requisite, all persones, as senatour, alderman, comener, lorde, knight,

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knight, esquire, gentleman, yeoman, freman, bondman, and euery partie according to his state, degree, hauour, office, or occupacion. As for example, in courtes of Iustice, persones sued at the lawe, or in solempne feastes (soche as in olde time the consuls, the pretours, and other hedde officers of Rome made vnto the citezens, and soche as now in London, and other citees and tounes of Englande, the Maiour make, doeth vnto the inhabitauntes, or the sergeauntes at the lawe, when thei be first created) the names of all the geastes, whom the feaster muste in the diner time haile, salute, and welcome eche partie by his name, and accordyng to his degree. Thei did also attende on soche persones as stode for the consulship, the preatourship, the tribuneship, or any other of the chief offices, at euery chaunge, from yere to yere in Roome, and when neede was, shewed the partie that sued for the office, the names of those persones, whose fauour and voice thesame should sue and desire to haue towarde his eleccion and creacion. Wherefore Cato is moche praised in the histories, for that he duely obserued and kept the lawe, whiche lawe did forebid that any soche biddelles, should awaite on any persone suyng for an office, but would that euery soche suter, standing for any soch magistrate should knowe to salute and call euery citezen by his name, without the helpe of any Biddelle to prompe hym. Soche Biddelles haue euery crafte in London, that knowe euery persone of that crafte that thei belong vnto, and their dwelling places, their degrees, their auncientee, who bee maisters of the crafte who haue been wardens, and wardens peeres, who be bachelers, who be in the liuerie, and who be not yet com to it. Soche biddelles haue the vniuersitees, whose office is to knowe who been regentes, and who none regentes, to presente the inferiour graduates to their superiours, at their circuites going, or at disputacions, at takyng degree of schools, at obites, at generall processions, or at other actes scholastical. And to vse and to place euery persone, accordyng to his degree, his auncientie of standyng, his dignitee, or his office, &c. And these biddelles maie well be called in latin *Nomenclatores*.

How *Augustus* touched one *Vatinius* sembleing that he hadde clene shaken of the disease of the goute.

29. Augustus beyng yet a young thing vnder mannes state, touched Vatinius feactly and after a pleasaunt sorte. For this Vatinius beyng eiuill cumbred with the spiece of the goute, labored to appere that he had clene put awaie that impediment, & made a proude bragge, that he could now goo a whole mile at a walk. I meruaill nothing there at (quoth Cæsar) for the daies are of good length, more then thei wer.

¶ Signifiyng the other partie to bee not one whit more free from the disease of the goute, then he was, but the dayes to haue waxed longer.

30. After the deceasse of a certain knight of Rome, it came to light and was certainlie knowen, thesame to be so ferre in debt, that the summe amounted to twoo hundred thousande crounes and aboue. And this had the saied knight, during

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during his life tyme kept secrete. So when his goodes was preised for to bee solde, to the ende that the creditours might be satisfied and paied of the money, to bee leuied of the sale, Augustus willed & commaunded, the matresse or vnderquilte of the knightes owne bedde chambre, to be bought for him. And to his gentlemen hauyng meruaill at soche commaundement: It is a necessarie thing (quoth Augustus) for me (to the ende that I maie take my naturall slepe in the night) to haue that same mattresse, on whiche that man could take reste and slepe, beeyng endebted for so greate a summe of money.

The hedde of a persone beyng in great debt is an vnrestfull thing.

¶ For *Augustus* by reason of his greate cares, many a tyme and ofte, passed ouer the moste part of the night, without so moch as one winke of slepe.

The high cures of a good Prince.

31. *Cato* killed himselfe at *Vtica* that he might not come aliue into the handes of *Iulius Caesar*.

On a certaine daie, it fortuned hym to come into the hous, where Cato surnamed the Vticensian, had enhabited in his life time. And so when one Strabo, for to flater Cæsar, spake many sore woordes againste the obstinacie of the saied Cato,* in that he thought better to kil himself with his own handes, then to agnise and knowlege Iulius Cæsar for his conquerour, Whatsoeuer persone (quoth Augustus) is vnwilling to haue the present state of a common weale, whiche is in his daies chaunged or altered, thesame is both a good citezen, and member of a commenweale, and also a perfect good honest man.

He that is contented with the present state of his time, is a good subiect & an honest man.

¶ With one sole saiyng, he both defended the memorie of *Cato*, and also spake right well for the safe gard and continuaunce of hymself, puttyng al persones in feare from that daie forthward to set their myndes on new chaunges. For the present state was by the wordes of *Caesar* called, not onely thesame that was at

at that daie, when *Augustus* spake these woordes, but thesame also that had tofore been in the tyme of the conspiresie againste *Iulius Caesar*. For this Latin diccion, *praesens*, emong the right Latine speakers, hath respecte vnto three times, that is to wete, the time past, the time that now is, and the time to come. As for example, we saie in Latine, of a man that was not contented with soche thinges, as wer in his daies, or in his tyme, *praesentibus non erat contentus:* wee saie also in Latine, *praesens vita*, this presente life that is now in ledyng, and thirdly, of a thing at a more conuenient, apte, or propice tyme to bee doen, we saie in Latine *praesens in tempus omittatur*, bee it omitted or let alone vnto a time to seruice for it, that is to say vntill a propice tyme of oportunitee, and occasion hereafter to come.

This latin diccion *praesens*, may be referred vnto the tyme paste, the tyme that nowe is, & the time to com.

* *Cato* the *Vticensian*, or *Cato* of *Vtica*, was *Cato* the elders soonnes sonnes sonne. This *Cato* the younger in the ciuile battaill betwene *Iulius Caesar* and *Pompeius* the greate, tooke parte with *Pompeius*. And when *Caesar* begun to weaxe stronger and to preuaill, *Cato* fled vnto *Vtica* (a toune in *Aphrica*, .30. miles from the citee of *Carthago*) and held thesame with a strong garrison of men of warre. And when he sawe that *Caesar* had conquered, & he must nedes bee taken, he killed himself, because he would not come aliue into the handes of *Iulius Caesar*. And because he did this at *Vtica*, he was surnamed *Vticensis*, *Cato* of *Vtica*, for a distinccion from the other *Cato* his greate graundfather. Read of this more in the .13. *apophthegme* of *Iulius Caesar*.

32. Like as Augustus had a great delit and phansie, to finde and make pastime at others with wordes of ieste, consisting within the boundes of honestee, so would he wounderfull pacientely take merie bourdyng (yea some times beyng with the largest, and ouer plainly) either begun, or els reuersed backe againe vpon him. A certaine young gentleman, was come out of one or other of the prouincies vnto Roome, in the likenesse of visage so meruaillouslie resembleyng themperour, that he made all the people fulle & whole to gase on hym. Augustus beyng hereof aduertised, commaunded thesaied young gentleman to bee brought to his presence, and hauyng well

As *Augustus* had a greate delite to iest at others so would he verie pacientlie take merie iestyng again.

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well vieued the straunger, he examined or opposed thesame in this maner: Tell me young man, hath your mother neuer been here at Roome? No forsoth sir (quoth thother). And perceiuing Augustus to ieste, reuersed scoffe for scoffe, saiyng more ouer in this wise: But my father hath many a time and oft?

How *Augustus* was answered by a yong gentleman, whom he would haue brought in suspicion to bee his soonne.

¶ *Augustus* being pleasauntly disposed, would fain haue laied vnto the yong mans mother suspicion, as though he had his pleasure on her: but the yong man with a trice, reuersed that suspicion to the mother of *Caesar*, or els to his sister: for the resembleaunce of the fauour or visage, did no more argue or proue the partie to be the sonne of *Caesar*, then to be his brother, or els his neffewe, that is to saie, his sisters sonne. ☞ For (except I bee moche deceiued) Erasmus wrote it, *sororis filium*, and not, *nepotem*. For, *nepos*, is properly the soonnes soonne, or the doughters sonne, and not the brothers sonne, ne the sisters soonne, as *Augustus* himself was vnto *Iulius Caesar*, not *nepos*, but *sororis filius*, his sisters sonne, as afore is saied.

In the time while the * Triumuirate dured, [†Octauius, Lepidus, and Antonius, all three together holdyng thempire of Rome in their handes as lordes of the worlde] Augustus had written a great ‡ragmans rewe, or bille, to be soung on § Pollio in derision and skorne of hym by name. At the same time, Well [quoth Pollio] poore I hold my peace. For it is not for mine ease, nor it is no mater of iape, to write rimes or raillyng songes on that persone, in whose handes it lieth to write a man out of all that euer he hath. 33.

What *Pollio* saide to *Augustus*, who hadde written rymes and raylinge songes on hym by name.

¶ Notyng the tirannicalle power of *Augustus*. And yet was not thesame *Augustus* any thing offended, with that franke and plain speaking of *Pollio*.

* The *Triumuirate* here mencioned was, when three persones beyng togither confederated as sworne brethren, tooke into their handes by vsurpacion, the whole vniuersall Empire of Rome, to be egually diuided emong them, and thei to haue the

 administracion,

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administracion, rewle, gouernaunce and ordryng of all thinges, and the one to maintein the other in al causes. Whiche begun in the tyme of *Iulius Caesar*, beyng so coupled with *Pompeius* the greate and *Marcus Crassus* the riche.

† And ended in the tyme of *Augustus*, when thesame fell to like societee and composicion with *Marcus Lepidus* and *Marcus Antonius*. Of whiche is somwhat touched before, the first *apophthegme* of this *Augustus*. Ther were also in Rome diuers other *Triumuirates*, of whom it were superfluous in this present place to make any mencion.

‡ There was in *Campania* a toune called *Fescenium*, the first inhabitauntes whereof issued from the *Athenians* (as *Seruius* reporteth.) In this toune was first inuented the ioylitee of minstrelsie, and singyng merie songes and rimes, for makyng laughter and sporte at marriages, euen like as is now vsed, to syng songes of the Frere and the Nunne, with other semblable merie iestes, at weddynges, and other feastynges. And these songes or rimes (because their originall beginnyng issued out of *Fescenium*) wer called in Latine *Fescennina carmina*, or *Fescennini rythmi*, or *Versus*. Whiche I doe here translate (according to our English prouerbe) a ragmans rewe, or, a bible. For so dooe we call a long ieste, that railleth on any persone by name, or toucheth a bodies honestee somewhat nere.

§ Because the name of *Pollio* is common to many, I haue thought good to admonish, that this *Pollio* was called *Vedius Pollio, alias Atedius Pollio*, a familiare frende of *Augustus*. Of whiche *Pollio* shalbee spoken more at large in the note of the .59. *apophthegme* of this *Augustus*.

34. *Curtius* a knight of Roome.

One Curtius a knight of Roome, a ruffler, and one drouned in al kindes of riotte and sensualitee, when he supped on a time with Augustus, toke vp a leane birde of the kind of blacke mackes out of the dishe, and holding it in his hand, he demaunded of Cæsar, whether he might sende it awaie. And when Cæsar had thus aunswered, Yes, why should ye not? Thother without any more bones caste me the birde ☞ (because it was so caren leane) out at the windoore.

A thyng muche vsed in Rome to make dishes from their tables & sende it to their frendes

¶ Quickly taking an occasion to plaie that merie toye of ambiguitee, or double significacion of the latin word *mittere*, in Englishe, to sende. For meate is sente from a table vnto mennes frendes, in the waie of a present, which making of a dishe at a feast, was a thing emong the Romaines, at al soche seasons ordinarie, and a thing ☞ (bothe by the significacion of the Latine diccion, and also of the Englishe) is sent awaie, that is floung awaie. Yet was not *Caesar* offended with this merie pranke neither.

The gentlenes of *Augustus* in taking thinges doen for myrth.

Thesame

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35. *Augustus* of his owne mere motion secretlye payde .xx. thousand poundes of debt for a senator of Rome whom he loued.

Thesame Augustus, beyng not desired therunto, had of his own mere mocion satisfied and contented the debtes of a certain Senatour, whom he had in right good fauour, and loued verie well, and had paied doune for hym out of his Cofers in readie money, one hundred thousande Crounes. And the saied Senatour, after that he had knowlege therof, wrote vnto themperour to giue him thankes, nothing els but this: To me not a penie.

Howe a certain Senatour of Rome thanked *Augustus* for paiyng a great summe of money to his creditours.

¶ In the waie of mirth, pretendyng as though he had had a querele to *Caesar* for that, whereas he had told out ready paiment to all his creditours, he had geuen to hym for his owne part not a ferthyng. Suche bourdyng as this, some other eagre persone would haue enterpreted and taken for ingratitude and vnthankefulnesse, but this noble Emperour highly reioyced that the Senatour had so moche confidence and trust in him, that he durst be bolde to wryte vnto him after soche a familiare sorte.

Augustus highly reioyced, if suche as he fauored, put their affiaunce in him.

36. *Licinius* of a bondeseruaunt made free by *Augustus* and enfranchesed.

Licinius, whom Cæsar of his late bondman had made free, vsed euen of an ordinarie custome to geue vnto his old maister whensoeuer thesame begonne any newe werkes of building, great summes of mony towardes the charges of it. Whiche custome Licinius still continuyng, promised vnto Augustus against he should entre the erection of some new edifice whatsoeuer it was, one hundred thousand crounes by a bill of his hande, in whiche bille, after the summe of money expressed (whiche was marked and sette out with a capitall letter of $\overline{C}$ signifiyng an hundred, and a long strieke aboue the head of it, in this wyse, $\overline{C}$) ☞ whiche in writing Romain summes of money, betokeneth so many thousand pieces of coyne, whether it be gold or siluer, as the expresse letters doen signifie hundredes or scores, there stoode a space vacaunt. Cæsar not refusing

How Augustus serued Licinius geuynge him by a bille of his hande a certain summe of money towardes his buildyng.

refusing soche an occasion, added an other .C. vnto the former summe that his late bondeseruaunte now enfranchised had written, and so made it two hundred thousand ☞ (in this wyse C C.) filling vp as trimme as a trencher the space that stoode voide, with his own hand, but forgeing the lettre as like vnto the hande of Licinius as could possibly be made. Whervpon he receiued at the daye of paimente double the summe of money that he should haue doen, Licinius making no countenance at the matter, ne saiyng any woorde to it. But when Cæsar not long after, eftsones entreed new buildinges, his old seruaunt touched him a litle courtesie for that facte, by making and geuyng him an other bille of his hand, of soche purport and tenour as foloeth: Souerain I shall depart with you towardes the charges of these your newe buildinges, as moche as shalbe your pleasure to appoincte me.

How *Licinius* serued *Augustus* for doubleyng the somme of his bill of free gift made vnto him

¶ And did not expresse the iust somme how moche, or how little he would conferre vnto hym, that it might bee at his pleasure, to put in the bille as moche as he would himself, forasmoche as he had dubled the former somme at the other tyme.

37. When Augustus was in the office * of Censour, that is to saie, of lorde Comptroller, or high Conestable. A certaine knight of Roome, was by the waie of complainte presented vnto him, that he had decaid and wasted his substaunce. But the knight beyng brought to his aunswere, made due proofe that he had contrarie wise emended and encreased his substaunce. And euen in the necke of this, it was laied to the charge of thesame knight, that he had disobeied the lawes, bidding eche man to marrie a wife. But he made his declaracion, and brought in his trialle,

* *Censura*, in Rome was an office that wee call the highe constableship, & he that bare the office was called *Censor*, high counstable, or Lorde Coumptroller, his office was to enquier and examin of all persones how

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trialle, that he was Father of three children of his owne bodie begotten by his lawfull wife. Whereupon thesaid knight thought not himself well, nor held him contented for to be freely quite and discharged of these crimes, but vpbraidyng vnto Cæsar, his lightnesse of geuing credence to reportes and enformacions, saied moreouer in this maner: From henseforth Cæsar when thou makest enquierie of honest persones, geue it in commission to men of honestee.

they demeaned themselues, and to punishe transgressours by his discretion. We reade of Censours that haue deposed Senatours from their estate, for their misdemeanoure.

¶ After a metely plain sorte pronouncing, that those wer no honest feloes, whiche had presented vnto him thinges manifestly vntrue. And by the waie laiyng shrewdly to the Emperours owne charge, in that he made and aucthorised soche surmuisers & pickers of quereles to be his deputies, or to represent his person. And this large talking also *Caesar* perdoned, for the respect and in consideracion that the partie was innocent & giltlesse.

The office continued in one mannes hande v. yeres. And ones in the yere there was as it were a moustre of all the knightes & gentlemen of Rome, whiche shoulde passe through the vieu of the Censour. If any wer found a persone worthy blame, he was punished at the discretion of the Censour. And if the case so required he was deposed also from the ordre of knighthood.

38.

How a certaine souldier auenturer serued *Augustus* not rewarding him according to his expectation

Being in a certain mainour place in the countree, he toke verie euill rest in the nightes, by reason of an oule, breakyng his slepe euery halfe hower with her oughlyng. A launceknight or a soldiour auenturer beyng well skilled in foulyng, tooke the peines to catche this Oulet, and vpon hope of some verie high reward, brought thesame vnto Augustus, who, after gannyng hym thanke, commaunded a thousande * pieces of money to be geuen him in reward. The other partie ☞ (bicause he thought the reward ouer small) was not afeard, but had the harte to saie vnto the Emperor: Naie, yet had I rather that she liue still, and with that worde let go the birde again.

* *Nummus* in the .30. .35. and .36. *apophthegmes*, is taken for peces of golde, & here it is taken for brasse pens, or els pieces of siluer of the valu of a dandi-

¶ What persone can but maruaill that soche a solain

prat or i. d. ob. a pece or thereabout, so that

solain froward pranke should escape vnpunished in the soldior auenturer?

the thousand peces wer moche about the somme of twentie nobles sterlynges. The Frenche enterpreter translateth it fiue and twentie crounes.

39. One of the olde souldiours of Roome, when he was sued at the lawe, and in daunger of condemnacion, came vnto the Emperour Augustus, euen as he wente in the open strete, desiryng him of his aide, and to helpe to stande betwene him and harme, in the Courte before the Iudge. Cæsar out of hand appoincted to go with the feloe in his stede, one of his chief gentlemen, purposely chosen out of his owne traine, whom he required and charged in the suiters cause, to doe his true diligence. At these woordes the soldiour criyng out with an open mouth said: Iwis Cæsar, when ye wer in daunger at the battail of * Actium, I did not seke for a deputie, or assigney to fight in my steede, but I fought for you myne owne handes, and euen with the wordes speaking, discouered the markes of woundes receiued in thesaied battaill. Cæsar shewed a red paire of chekes, and went euen in his owne persone to help him in his cause, moche afeard lest he should seme not onely proude, but also vnthankfull, ☞ towardes soche persones as had doen hym true and faithfull seruice.

* *Actium* the peake of the countree of *Epirus* (that is to saie, an high mountain to the seaward, soche an one as sainct Mighels mount in Cornewall) where *Augustus* discomfited *Antonius* & *Cleopatra*, and after .x. houres fighting, destruyed on the sea v. M. men, and toke all the nauie of *Antonius*, to the nomber of .iii. C. shippes. *Antonius* being so put to flight, *Augustus* recouered also his armie that tarried the comyng of *Antonius* on the lande, to the nomber of 18. legions of footemen, and 22. M. horsemen. At this *Actium*, after the vanquishing of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, *Augustus* builded a citee, whiche of that same victorie was called *Nicopolis*, for νῖκος, is a victorie, and πόλις, a citee. In this citee *Nicopolis* was there a noble temple, consecrated vnto *Apollo*. And the citte a free citee, inhabited with men of *Augustus* his sending thither.

40. He had on a time at a supper, taken great pleasure and delectacion of singing children, brought purposely to syng afore hym, by one Turonius

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Turonius Flaccus, that brought theim vp in it for the nones, to get money by them, and had giuen to thesame for their reward Wheate, whereas his guise was to geue vnto others large rewards of money. And so when Cæsar an other daie at supper, required to haue thesame boies againe to sing before him, Turonius thus made an excuse: In faith (quoth he) thei are at the mille.

How *Turonius Flaccus* made aunswere vnto *Augustus*, requiryng to haue his boies syng before hym to whom he had geuen in reward afore, not money but wheate.

¶ Upbraidyng vnto *Caesar* his gifte of corne in stede of money. Neither had he any punishement for the worde that he had spoken, beyng not a man of armes, that did continuall seruice in themperours warres, but a lewde bringer vp & seller of boies.

When he returned to Roome, with all pompe and ioilitee, from the victorie gotten at Actium, emong a greate multitude meetyng hym for to welcome him home, a certain persone bearing on his fist a crowe hauyng been taught to speake these woordes: All haile Cæsar Emperor moste victorious: Augustus being moche delited with this salutacion, bought the crowe, and gaue sixe thousande pieces of gold for hym. The partener of him that had doen this feact, because no porcion of that liberal reward had come to his snapshare, did Cæsar to weete, that the self same felooe had yet an other crowe to, which he besought of Cæsar, that the feloe might bee compelled to bryng before him. When she was brought, she souned out plainly soche woordes, as she had learned, whiche were these: All haile Antonius moste redoubted conquerour. Augustus being nothing stiered to anger, onely commaunded the reward afore giuen to be egually parted with the feloe that was the promoter of the later crowe. ☞ Because he perceiued that his complainte, had proceded of mere malice and enuie.

41.

Augustus gaue a great somme of money for a crowe that had lerned to speak

The goodnesse of *Augustus* in complaintes or informacions presented of malice and enuie.

Augustus

42. Augustus being semblably hailed or saluted by a Popiniaie, commaunded her to be bought to. And meruailyng at thesame thyng in a Pye, bought her vp also. This example would not suffer a certaine poore Souter to be in rest, vntill he must take in hande the making of a crowe to a like maner salutacion. Who, when he had cleane beggered himself with expenses, would euer now and then thus saie vnto the bird, when it would not saie after him: Both our labour and all our coste is lost. Yet in processe of tyme at last, by reason of continual beatyng it into the crow, he made thesame euen by strong hande, that she could soune the salutacion, so often ricited vnto her. And when she had therewith salued Augustus, as he passed by, Tushe, tushe (quoth Cæsar) we haue enough of soche saluters as this at home alreadie: Anon the crowe recorded al so the other wordes, whiche she had so often heard, brought out them also in this maner, Bothe our labour and all our coste is loste. Cæsar laughing hartely thereat, commaunded a greate dele more to bee paied for her, then he had geuen for any soche bird tofore.

Augustus bought diuerse birdes that saluted him as they were taught to speake.

Howe *Augustus* bought a crowe that a poore souter had taught to salute him.

43. A poore Greke Poete (to creepe into the fauour of Augustus Cæsar, vsed this facion. Euer when themperour should come doun from his palaice, the Poete would exhibite vnto him some Epigramme or other, in his honour and praise. And when he had oft times so doen in vaine, and Augustus sawe that he wold not leaue, he wrote out with his owne hande, a well made Epigramme of Greke, and sente it to the Poete, approchyng to meete hym, as one entendyng to recompense verses with verses. The Greke hauing receiued the Emperours Epigramme read it, and

Howe *Augustus* serued a poore Greke poet geuing him epigrammes of Greke, & howe he was serued of him again.

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and not onely in woordes, but also with countenaunce and with gesture of bodie praised thesame, and made moche woundryng at it. And afterwarde, when he had approched to the littre that Cæsar rode in, puttyng doune his hande into his threedebare pouche nigh penilesse, he tooke out a grote, or twoo or three, and putte it in the hande of Cæsar, with these wordes: Not accordingly as your estate requireth, O Augustus, but if I had more, more would I geue: When all that wer presente, had taken vp a laughter therat, Cæsar called his pursebearer or Coferer, and commaunded him to deliuer vnto the Poete, an hundred thousande pieces of golde.

The liberalitee of *Augustus* towarde learned menne.

¶ Niggardship in open presence cast in the nose of the Emperour happed well for the Grekes parte.

44. Iulia the doughter of Augustus, when she came on a tyme to dooe her duetie vnto her father, perceiued his iyes to bee offended with her ouer wanton and staryng araie, though he would nothyng saie to it. Wherfore the next daie folowing, her apparell chaunged into a more sadde sort, she enbraced her father. Then Cæsar, who had kept in his grief the daie afore, was not hable likewise to kepe in his ioye and gladnesse, but saied: How moche better doeth this sadde sorte of apparel become the doughter of Augustus. The young Ladie had an aunswere readie quickely: Forsothe (saieth she) I haue this daie trimmed my self, to please the iyes of my father, and my yesterdaies araie was to please my housbande.

Augustus offended with his doughter *Iulia* for going in ouer dissolute araie.

The readie answere of *Iulia* to *Augustus* for excusyng her gorgeus going in her apparell.

45. At a certaine sight of fightyng and tourneiyng, Liuia the mother & Iulia the doughter, had turned the iyes of all the people on theim twain, by reason that their traines wer so ferre vnlike, the

The diuersitee of the traines awaityng on *Liuia* the

mother, and *Iulia* the doughter.

Of *Iulia* reade more in the .63. *apophthegme.*

the one to the other. About the persone of Liuia awaited a coumpaignie of menne sage and auncient, Iulia came accompaignied with a sorte of lustie young ruflers, & wilde merchauntes. Augustus therfore by letters, admonished his doughter Iulia, to marke what great difference and oddes there was, betwene twoo women of high estate. She wrote to her father againe: Well, and these folkes shalbee olde to, when I am.

The aunswere of *Iulia* vnto her father *Augustus*, aduertising her of her riottous coumpaignie of seruauntes.

¶ This aunswer if one doe interprete it in the good part, maie seme feately and properly made, if to the wurste, without either shame or grace.

46. *Iulia* the doughter of *Augustus* begun to haue a white hedde, somwhat with the sonest.

Thesame Iulia begun somewhat with the sonest to haue white heares in her hed. And the sodaine comyng in of Cæsar vpon her, tooke vnawares the women, that had kembed her hedde, as thei wer pickyng vp her white heeres, & tooke vpon their clothes diuers of the heeres, that thei had plucked out of his doughters hedde. This matter Augustus made as though he had not knowen. And the tyme a preatie while passed forth, with communicacion of other matters at last he brought in mencion of olde age. And by this occasion he demaunded of Iulia, whether she had lieffer in processe of a fewe yeres, to haue an hore white hedde, or els to bee altogether balde. And when she had thus made aunswere: Forsoth father, of the twoo I had rather to haue a white hed: Why then [saied he] doen these damiselles all that thei maie, to make thee clene balde before thy tyme?

Howe *Augustus* rebuked his doughter *Iulia* for plucking the whyte heares out of hir head.

¶ With this pretie inuencion subtilly deuised, he tooke her tardie with a plain lye.

47. What *Iulia* said to an

To a certain frende of hers a manne of grauitee, giuing her counsaill to frame her self after the exaumple of her fathers sobre and auncient maner

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maner of liuing, thesame Iulia aunswered pertely enough againe: He doeth not remembre (quoth Iulia) that he is an Emperour, but I do remember that I am an emperours doughter.

auncient saige man exhorting hir to the frugalitee of hir father.

Augustus setting twoo iesters together for to plaie their merie partes in gesturing the one after the other by course, called the one of them a daunser, & thother a stopper. 48.

¶ Because the one was out of measure, full of his knackes and toies, and thother ☞ (which when he should counterfaict to doe after hym, as he had doen afore, could come nothyng nigh to his facions) seemed to doe nothyng but to make pauses, and stoppe or let hym of his daunsyng.

The inhabitauntes of Tarracon, for a glad token of prosperous fortune, bringing him tidynges, that in his altare was sprongen and growen vp a palmetree: Therby (quoth Augustus) full well appereth how often ye do sacrifice of incense in our honour. 49.

How *Augustus* reproued the flatterie of the *Tarraconians*, bringyng hym tidinges that a Date tree was growen vp in his altare.

¶ That thei would fain haue attributed vnto the goddes as a miracle, he imputed to their negligence, who seldome or neuer, did sacrifice of burnyng incense in the altare of *Caesar*.

* *Tarraconia*, a countree of Spaine, now called Aragousie. *Tarracon*, the chief citee of that countree, where was an altare consecrated to *Augustus Tarraconenses*, the inhabitauntes of *Tarracon*.

Thesame Augustus when the Galles had geuen him a golden chain of an C. pound weight, & Dolobella prouing his mynd in sport, proceded in merie communicacion, till at the last he saied, Sir emperour I praie you geue me this chaine: Naie, (quoth Augustus) I had rather I might geue you a garlande * ciuike or I wil rather geue you a garland ciuike. 50.

How *Augustus* auoided *Dolobella* askyng a golden chaine of him.

¶ After a pleasaunt wittie sort, did he put back the vnshamefastnesse of one that craued to haue a rewarde, and

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A garlande *Ciuike*, made either of holie, or els of oken leaues.

and yet had neuer been in battaille, ☞ (where he might deserue a rewarde) and therefore a garland ciuike was more meete for him, which was wont to be made of Oken leues, and of Holme leues, as the garlande triumphall of golde. Albeit, aswell *castrensis corona*, ☞ otherwise called *vallaris corona*, the garlande whiche was geuen by the high capitain of the Romains, vnto hym that first had enterprised to breake into the campe and tentes of the enemies, and ouer the trenches in the field,) as also *corona muralis*, the garlande murall (whiche was thesaid graunde capitain conferred to soche persone, as at the assaulte of any toune or fortresse, had firste scaled the walles, and braste into the toune or holdes of the enemies) and *corona naualis* otherwise called *corona rostrata* the garlande that was geuen to hym, that in battaille on the sea, had first borded any shippe of their enemies or els subdued any pirates) euery one of them ordinarily made of golde. Of whiche matter se *Aulus Gellius* in the .vi. Chapiter of the .v. volume. And the garlande ciuike, as a reward of more honour then any other, *Augustus* offered in sporte to *Dolobella*. For *Suetonius* telleth that thesame *Augustus* (emong the giftes, wherwith men of armes wer rewarded for any worthie acte or feacte doen in warre) vsed of a custome, moche soner to geue golden trappour or bardes for horses, and chaines trappour, and whatsoeuer thing els was made of golde & siluer, then garlandes, vallares, and muralles, whiche (as touchyng honour) were farre aboue the other thynges. Whiche thyng excepte one doe knowe, the merie saiyng of *Augustus* hath no grace in the worlde. Albeeit as touchyng the stuffe whereof euery of the saied garlandes was made, *Gellius* and *Suetonius* do square and disagree.

The garlande *Ciuike* of more honour then any thyng of gold that was geuen for reward in battaille.

Augustus would moche soner geue rewardes of golde to his men of armes, then garlandes *Ciuike* or *mural* that were made of leaues.

* A garlande ciuike was called in Latine *ciuica corona*, whiche one citezen hauing been rescued and saued from killing in battaill, made and gaue to an other citezen by whom he was so rescued and saued, as a testimoniall of his life saued when he should (but for the others aide and helpe) haue been slaine. And this garland was of more honour then any other gift, by manhode & prowesse marciall to be acheued (sauyng onely *corona graminea*, a garland of grasse, otherwise called *corona obsidionalis*, a garlande *obsidionall*, whiche was geuen to that persone, who by his aide & rescue, had saued the whole vniuersall armie of the Romaines, being besieged and beset, or on euery side enuironed with their enemies.) And yet wer there many garlandes geuen in battaill, of moche more price & value, then either of

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of bothe aforesaid, as maie appere by the woordes of *Plinius*, which I haue thought good here to set, because it maketh to the declaracion & vnderstanding of this place. The garlande Ciuike (saieth *Plinius*) at the first was of holme, afterward it was more fansied to haue it made of oken leaues with acornes. There belonged vnto it many condicions and many circumstaunces were required, he that should haue it must bee one whiche firste of all gettyng vp to the walles of the toune, that he fighteth for in his own countree, hath slain whatsoeuer persone was so hardie to entreprise breking in. And one that had more desire to saue the life of one of his owne countremen and feloes, then to slea his enemie. And how that thesame place where the deede was doen, the enemies was like to haue enioied the same daie. And that the partie so saued, confesse thesame with his owne mouthe, otherwise witnesses doen nothing auaile, & that he wer a citezen of Rome. Other forener coming to succour & aide the Romaines geue not that honour, though one saue a king. Neither doeth thesame honour passe the common rate in dignitee, though the high capitain be sembleablie rescued and saued. For the first founders would the highest of all to be in any that were a citezen whatsoeuer he wer. A Ciuike garlande ones receiued, it was lawfull for him that had it ones geuen, to weare all daies of life after. If he came to any common plaies or open sightes, it is the guise euen yet stil that reuerence be doen to him, yea, euen of the Senate. He had aucthoritee to sit in the seates next vnto the Senate. He was exempted and chartered or priuileged from bearing almaner offices of charge, bothe for himself, and his father, and his fathers father.

51.

What *Augustus* saied of Rome, by him beutified & fortised.

When he had many diuerse waies both beautified and strengthened or fensed the citee of Rome, and had also for many yeres to come, as moche as in hym laie, made thesame suer and safe from all daungiers, being proude thereof not without cause, he would often saie: I found Rome made but of Bricke, and I will leaue it of Marble.

Nothing to a Prince maie be more roial then if he make the state of his realme better than it was ere it came to his handes.

¶ Nothing to a prince maie be more magnificente or regall, then if thesame doe meliorate and better the state of a dicion or roialme, descended and come to his possession.

52.

Howe *Augustus* put of two impudent crauers at ones.

When one of his men of warre begged shamefully of hym a thyng (what it was) & he had espied besides hym one Martianus, also coming a pase towardes hym, whom he mistrusted, that he for his parte to would beg hard on hym, ere he would haue a naie, he said: I will no more doe that thou desirest (good feloe myne) then that thyng whiche Martianus goeth about to craue on me.

It

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53. It was the lawe in Roome, that what person had killed his father, shuld be made fast in a * sacke, (☞ & so cast into the riuer.) And yet was not this punishemente executed, but vpon the partie hauyng first confessed the case. Augustus therefore, to the entent that he would help saue from the moste greuous torment of the foresaid punishment, a persone arrained at the barre, for killyng his owne father, that all the world knewe to be so in deede, vsed this maner of examinyng, and laiyng the matter against hym: In faith (I thinke for all this) thou diddest not kill thy father.

The lawe for suche as killed their fathers.

The clemencie and graciousnes of *Augustus* in ministring the lawe.

¶ Doyng enough to him for to make him saie naie in the matter. So great was the fauourablenesse of this Prince in ministryng the lawe.

* A lawe was made in Rome by *Pompeius* (& was of his name called, *Lex Pompeia*) that if any persone wrought the actuall deede of killyng his father or his sonne, either priuelie or apert, thesame should bee sewed or fast knit in a poke of sacke clothe, together with a liue dogge, a cocke, an adder, and an ape, and so should bee caste into the sea, if there were any nigh to the place, or els into the riuer: to the ende that being enbraked and hampered in the middes of those mortalle streightes, he might euen in his life time begin to lacke the vse of all the elementes, and that the aire should be taken awaie from him, while he were aliue, and the yearth when he wer dedde.

54. He vsed commonly to saie, that there was nothing more vnconuenable for a perfecte good capitaine, then ouer moche hastyng, and vnauisednesse, and he had almoste euer in his mouthe, this saiyng of Greke, σπεῦδε βραδέως, ἀσφαλὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης. That is, hasten faire and softely. For moche better is the capitaine that will be sure of his matters, ere he go about them, then he that is of courage, to ieoperde at all auentures.

Hastyng & want of discrecion, the worste properties that maie bee in a good capitaine.

σπεῦδε βραδέως, make hast faire and softelie, or spede thee faire and softelie.

¶ Of whiche matter I haue saied at large in my werk of Prouerbes, whiche is entiteled Chiliades.

☞ The Prouerbe, *spede thee faire and softely*, is a lesson of counsaile, whereby all persones, and especially princes, rulers and capitaines are admonished, in doyng of thinges bothe to adhibite or

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or shewe the quicke speding of actiuitee, and also the slownesse of diligence and circumspeccion, according to that the saiyng of *Sallustius:* nedefull it is first to take good deliberacion, and assone as thou hast ones consulted, expedient it is, not to forflow the tyme of doyng when it cometh.

Primum consulto: at vbi consulueris, mature opus est facto.

Unto his wife Liuia, makyng instaunte requeste in the behalf of a certain Galle, to be incorporated a citezen of Rome, he gaue a plain naie, but that thesame Galle should enioye the Priueleges and franchesses of Roome, ☞ (as if he had been a citezen in deede) he graunted her of his own mocion vndesired: alleging that he could bee moche better contented to haue of his owne rentes and cofers abated, then the honor of the citee of Rome to bee made ouer common.

55. *Augustus* would not graunte vnto *Liuia* to haue a certain *Galle* incorporated citezen of Roome

Augustus wold not make the honour of the citee of Rome ouer common.

¶ As one that preferred the dignitee or highe estate of the common weale, before his owne singulare auauntage.

Augustus preferred the dignitie of the common weale before his owne singuler auantage.

When he sawe at an oracion or proposicion, ☞ (that he made vnto the people) a greate manie in vile apparell (readyng, *palliatos*, in stede of, *pullatos*, as I suppose verely the bokes of Suetonius should be) clad in great large cappes or mantelles, being very sore moued therewith, and in an high fume, Loe (saieth he) these here been our Romaines, the lordes of the worlde, and wonte in tymes paste, to go in auncient side gonnes.

56.

Augustus studied to bryng vp again in *Rome* the auncient facions decaied.

¶ So greatly did he studie and labour to calle backe again and to renewe the olde auncient facions, that it greued his harte to se the old goyng in apparell, and garmentes chaunged.

Unto the people making great complaint of the scarcitee of wine, & also of the dearth, he said, that by reason of great aboundaunce of waters, conueighed to ren out of newe conduictes lately made by Agrippa his sonne in Lawe, there was

57. How *Augustus* aunswered the people of *Rome* complainyngof the scarcitee & dearth of wine.

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Agrippa made many new conduictes in *Rome* for the conueighaunce of water to the citee.

was sufficiente prouision made, that men needed not to be in thriste.

¶ In deede *Agrippa* bestowed all his studie and diligence, from all places that could be, to prouide for the citee of Rome to haue aboundaunce of waters. And *Augustus* on the other side, did sharpelie call backe the people from wine to water.

The incomparable clemencie & graciousnesse of *Augustus* towardes one *Timagines* a writer of histories and chronicles.

58. Timagines a writer of Histories, had with open mouth spoken many bloudie wordes against Cæsar, many slaunderous wordes by his wife, and many naughtie wordes by all his whole familie. Augustus sent him a gentle warnyng to kepe a better toung in his hedde, and to vse it more sobrely. And where the feloe persisted and held on still to make euill report, and to speake the worst, Cæsar did nothyng els in the worlde, but forbid hym his hous. Well, Timagines solemnely afore audience read ouer certaine bookes, whiche he had written, conteining the actes or chronicles of Augustus, & when he had perused them, he cast them in the fier, and burned theim, for hatered of Cæsar, as one couetyng to suppresse and extinguishe for euer, the memoriall of thinges from time to time, dooen by thesame. Yet for all this did not one of the Citezens of Roome kepe out of his doores thesaied Timagines, thus openly and stiffely shewing continuall enmitee against Cæsar. In the hous of Pollio Asinius, he continued till he was a verie aged manne, and yet did Augustus neuer so moche as geue one foule worde vnto Pollio, in whose hous his enmie was lodged, & entreteined, sauyng that one time he saied vnto hym onely thus: θηριοτρεφεῖς, that is, Ye feede in your hous a beast, or a serpente, ☞ (as if one should haue saied, your hous is a denne, or a caue for a serpent.) And

Timagines for hatered of *Augustus* burned the bokes, whiche he had writen of his chronicle

The lenitee of *Augustus* towardes *Pollio Asinius*.

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And anon where Pollio addressed hymself to make his purgacion or excuse, Cæsar broke his tale, saiyng: Naie, my friende Pollio, take the fruicion of hym hardely, take the fruicion of him. But when Pollio not being yet clene out of feare, said Sir Emperour, if ye so commaunde, I will ere I drinke, forbid him my hous. Why (quoth Augustus) thinkest thou that I will so doe, which haue been the man, that once made you at one?

When *Augustus* begun to take displeasur with *Timagines* then begun *Pollio* to bee his frende.

¶ For this Pollio had afore tyme been angrie and foule out with *Timagines*, and had none other cause to surceasse his maugre, but that *Caesar* begun to take displeasure with the saied *Timagines*. So the graciousnesse of this prince tooke in good gree the eiuill will of bothe the saied parties against hym.

59. The straunge sort of crueltee that *Atedius Pollio* vsed, in castyng his seruauntes (if thei displeased hym) aliue vnto liue Lamproies, whiche he kepte in a stewe.

It fortuned Augustus to suppe at the hous of one *Atedius Pollio, alias Vidius Pollio. And one of the bondpages of this Pollio, had by chaunce broken a drinkyng glasse of cristall stone. Anon was commaundement geuen, that the paige should at ons be had awaie, and caste to his Lamproies. The lackey ran for succour, and fell doune at the fete of Cæsar, mindyng to desire of him nothing els in the world, but that he might dye some other kinde of death ☞ (then to bee cast aliue vnto the liue Lamproies. Cæsar beeyng moued with the vnquod maner of crueltee commaunded bothe the boie to be let go, and also as many cuppes, or other vessell of cristall as wer in the hous, to be broken in peces before his face euery one of them, and the stewe (where the Lamproies were kept) to bee filled vp with thesame, in steede of the boie. And as for his friende Pollio he greuously rebuked: saiyng: Why, art thou soche an one so lordely, to bid

The sore rebuk that *Augustus* gaue vnto *Pollio* for his crueltie.

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awaie with thy men in all haste, euen from thy table, and to be gnawen piece mele, with a tormente of a newe sorte neuer seen afore? If it chaunce a scalde cuppe of thyne to bee broken, shall the bowelles and guttes of a man, be toren in pieces for it? Wilt thou so highly stande in thine owne conceipt, or take vpon thee, as to commaunde any bodie to bee had to death or tormentes, in soche place, where Cæsar hymself is present?

The pitee and mercifull compassion of *Augustus* towards menne.

* Of the straunge crueltee of this *Atedius Pollio, alias Vedius Pollio, Plinius* (in the .23. chap. of the .9. volume, treacting of the nature of Lamproies) speaketh in this maner. *Vedius Pollio* a knight of Rome, and one of the familiare frendes of *Augustus Caesar*, deuised and inuented in this fishe, examples and waies how to doe cruell torment, casting in cloce pondes & stewes of theim, the liue bodies of bondmen condemned to dye, not as though the wilde beastes of the yearth, beyng for soche purpose vnsufficient, but forbicause in any other kinde. he might not stande and loke vpon, while aliue man wer toren piece mele, in all the members and partes of his bodie at ones. Againste thesame *Pollio* for thesame crueltee doeth *Seneca* also sore inueigh.

60. At a certain sittyng in iudgement, where vnto the charge of one Aemilius Elianus of Corduba, emong other crimes moe it was laied euen as one of the principall matters against him, that he was a speaker of euill by Cæsar: Augustus turning to the accuser saied: I would haue thee to bryng me in prooffes of that, and I shall make Elianus to knowe that I haue a tongue to as well as he, and I will telle as many good tales of hym againe, I warraunte hym.

Corduba a citee in Spaine, where *Seneca* the Philosophier, and the Poete *Lucanus* wer borne.

The clemencie of *Augustus* towards *Aemilius Elianus* accused for speking wordes against hym.

¶ And beyng contented with this manacyng, he made no ferther enquierie at all against the saied *Elianus*.

61. Unto Tiberius oftentymes by letters wrathfully complaining on soche persones as wer reporters of euill by Augustus, thesame Augustus wrote letters againe, that he should not in that matter be ouer eagre, as men of his age were wont to bee.

This *Tiberius* succeded *Augustus*.

How *Augustus* aunswered *Tiberius* wrath-

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bee. For it is enough (quoth he) if wee haue the matter at this poincte, that no man is able to doe vs any harme.

fully complainyng of persones reportyng eiuill by hym.

He neuer commended his soonnes vnto the people, but with this excepcion: If thei shall deserue it, and bee founde woorthie.

62. How *Augustus* vsed to commend his soonnes to the people.

¶ Mindyng and willyng, that honour should bee deferred and geuen not vnto aucthoritee, but vnto merites and desertes.

He had banished out of Courte Iulia his doughter, and Iulia his doughters doughter, yea, and after that Agrippa also, afore adopted and made his heire apparaunte, & afterward (because of his beastly and fierse or vnrulie facions) caste of again. At all times whensoeuer was made any mencion of these three, he would customably crie out with this verse of Homere.

63. *Augustus* banished out of his courte *Iulia* his doughter, and *Iulia* his doughters doughter, and *Agrippa* for their lewdenes & vnthriftines.

What *Augustus* would saie, when any mencion was made either of *Iulia* his doughter, or *Iulia* his nice, or of *Agrippa*, and what name he gaue theim.

αἲθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τε μένειν ἀγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι.

That is,

Oh, would God, would God, that my chaunce had been,
To liue single, and die without children.

Neither vsed he to call thesaid three persones by any other name, but three rotten apostumes, or three rennyng sores of his, or els his three cancres. For he could moche more pacientely take the death of his children and kinsfolkes, then their dishonour. Yea, & ferthermore he prouided by his last wil, that, in case any thing should chaunce vnto Iulia his doughter, or Iulia his nice other wise then well, neither of them bothe should be buiried vnder his toumbe.

Augustus could better take the death of his children, then their dishonour

Augustus would not haue his doughter *Iulia* to be toumbed with hym.

He would take very greuously that any thing should be made of him, and set out in writing, but after a substanciall sorte, and by the princi-

64. *Augustus* would not haue anything made

pall

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of him in writing but after a substanciall sorte, and of the best dooers

pall best doers. And to the iustices he signified his pleasure, that thei should not suffre any poinct of vilanie to come vnto his name, by the metynges and comyng together of iesters, or of common plaiers of entreludes.

Afore in the 34 *Apophthegme* of *Alexander*.

¶ In deede in this behalf cousin to *Alexander*. And certes meete it is for the auctoritee of a Prince, euerywhere to bee mainteined in his roiall estate, without any maner spotte or touche of derogacion.

65. How *Augustus* named a little Isle liyng nigh to the Isle of *Capres*.

An other certaine Isle, liyng nigh vnto the Isle of * Capres (into the whiche soche of Cæsars courte were wonte to departe for a season, as were desirous to seoiourne and repose theim selues) he commonly vsed to call in Greke, ἀπραγόπολιν as if ye should saie in Englishe, the Citee of dooe little.

¶ For the Greke worde ἀπραγία souneth in Englishe vacacion or resting from all buisinesse.

* *Capreae, arum*, is a litle Isle beyond the toune of *Surrentum* in the realme of Naples, which realme of Naples is in latin called *Campania*.

66. What *Augustus* demaunded of his frendes a litle before his death.

When he perceiued and feled his diyng houre to approche, he enquired of his familiares, beyng let into his chamber to come and see him, whether it semed to them, that he had any thing handsomely enough played his parte in passyng his life.

¶ Meanyng of the trade and course of this presente life, which many writers doen resemble and compare vnto plaiyng a parte in an Enterlude. And then pronounced he this Greke verse folowing, customablie vsed to be soungen at the last ende of Comedies, exhibited and plaied to an ende.

δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ἡμῖν μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.
That is,

Clappe handes, in signe of contentacion,
And with good harte, allow this our accion.

¶ *The*

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¶ *The saiynges of Iulius Caesar.*

IVlius Cæsar, when he fled from Sylla, being yet but euen a stripleyng vnder mannes state, came by chaunce into the handes of pirates, beyng Cilicians. And at the first when thesame pirates had named the somme, whiche thei would require of hym for his raunsome, he laughed the thieues to scorne, as fooles that knewe not what maner feloe thei had taken priesoner, and promised of his own offre to geue them double their asking. So, the time goyng on, wheras he was safely kept & watched, while the money was in fetchyng, he would charge theim to kepe silence, and to make no noise that might trouble him, while he was slepyng. Unto thesame Pirates he would euer read soche oracions and verses as he wrote being there, which his makinges, if thei did not in the best maner allow, he would call them asses and barbarous fooles, and with laughter would threaten to hang theim one daie on Ieobettes, whiche thing he did in deede to. For beyng let go, immediatly vpon the bringyng of the money, which the pirates patished for his raunsome, men and shippes gotten together out of the countrie of Asia, he caught the self sam robbers, and hanged them vp, but first hedded, that the seueritee might not be vntempred with mercie.

I. *Sylla* a senatour of *Rome*, and a man of great power, who made ciuile battaille with *Marius*, and vanquished, and afterward wexed a cruel tiran.

Cilicians, the people of *Cilicia*, whiche is a region in *Asia* the lesse ioining vnto *Syria*, a goodlie champian countree.

The hault stomacke of *Iulius Caesar*, beyng but a yong man.

Caesar hanged vp the pirates, by whom he had been taken prisoner.

¶ Doe ye not here euen at the first chop se and knowe of old, the nature and facions of *Alexander* the great, to whom no meane thing could be enough?

Iultus Caesar moste like in facions vnto *Alexander* the greate.

☞ Because the woordes of *Plutarchus* in the life of *Iulius Caesar*, seeme to geue no small light to the vnderstanding of this present place. I haue thought it worthy the doing, to annexe the same

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same at large. *Sylla* rulyng the roste, & bearyng all the stroke in Rome (saieth *Plutarchus*) was in minde and wille to take awaie from *Caesar*, *Cornelia* the doughter of *Cinna* the dictator (that is to saie, the lord great maister, or the lorde commaunder.) Whiche thing when he could neither for fear ne for hope, that is to saie, neither by foule meanes, nor by faire meanes bryng to passe, he stopped her dourie as forfaicted to the chamber of the citee. As for the cause of enmitee betwene *Caesar* and *Sylla*, was the alliaunce of *Marius* and *Caesar*. For *Marius* the elder had to wife *Iulia* the aunte of *Caesar*, of whom was born *Marius* the younger, *Caesars* cousin germain (thei twoo beyng sisters children.) When (*Sylla* settyng and bestowyng his minde, care, and studie about other matters, after the doyng to death and slaughter of many a persone, in the tyme while he reigned) *Caesar* sawe hymself to bee nothyng at all regarded of hym, yet did not the same *Caesar* shrinke, ne spare, being euen a very child of age, to steppe to the people, and to entre suite with them for the obteinyng of a rome, dignitee, or promocion, in the ordre or college of priestes, whiche dignitee he was put besides, and could not obteine, by reason that *Sylla* was not his friende, but against hym in his suite, *Sylla* continually from that tyme forthward, deuisyng and consultyng how to destroie *Caesar*, and to rid hym out of the waie, where certain persones auouched to be contrarie to all reason and conscience, to doe soche a yong boie to death. *Sylla* affirmed them all to bee more then madde, if thei did not in that one boie alone, espie many soche as *Marius*. When this saiyng came to *Caesars* eare, he went for a space about from place to place, and laie hidden emong the *Gabines* (a people in *Italie* not fer from Rome) afterward, while he nightely remoued from one lodgyng to an other, though he wer verie sickely, it chaunced hym to come into the handes of *Sylla* his soldiours, then scouring the countree, to take all soche persones as laie lurking there in any place, and at the hande of *Cornelius* the capitain of the saied Launce-knightes, he raunsomed hymself for two talentes. Upon this, taking his waie to the sea, he tooke passage ouer into *Bithynia* (a region of *Asia* the lesser, buttyng fore right ayenst *Thracia*) vnto *Nicomedes* the king there, with whom no long tyme hauyng made abode, as he wente doune from thens, he was taken about *Pharmacusa* (a little Isle in the sea of *Salamin*, not ferre from the region of *Attica*) by a sort of pirates, whiche at that present season, with greate shippes of warre, and with whole nauies out of nomber, heldè and kepte the possession of all the seas about. By whom when at the first wer demaunded of him .xx. talentes for his raunsome, he mocked them, for that thei knewe not what maner a man thei had taken, and therefore of hymself he promised to geue them .l. talentes. Then sendyng his folkes abrode, some to one citee and some to an other, for spedie leuiyng of thesaid money, hymself remainyng prisoner emong the moste vncourteous *Cilicians*, with one and no mo of his familiare frendes, and twoo seruauntes. But as for the saied *Cilicians* he had in so vile reputacion, that as often as he was disposed to laie hym doune to slepe, he would sende one streightly to charge and commaunde theim to kepe silence, and to make no noise. And makyng demourre there emonges them with greate suffraunce .xl. daies lackyng

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lackyng twoo, and vsying them not as kepers, but as seruauntes, and garders of his bodie, he would prouoke theim now at gamyng, now with prouyng one or other maisterie, otherwhiles writyng verses and oracions, he would desire them to geue hym the hearyng of thesame, and if thei did uot highlie esteme his doinges he would plainly without any courtesie call theim fooles or loutes, and barbarous feloes, threatening theim vnder the cloke of laughyng and sporting, to hang them euery one on the galoes. In whiche thinges thei like fooles tooke greate ioye and pleasure, as attributyng all that plain and franke speaking vnto iesting and simplicitee. And immediatlie vpon the bringing of the money for his raunsome, from the toune of *Miletum*, and the deliueraunce of the same, beyng set again at his libertee, a nauie of shippes euen with a trice furnished & set out from the hauen of the *Milesians*, he made vpon these Pirates, whom liyng yet still at rode with their nauie all at reste and quiete about thesaid Isle, he toke and subdued almoste euery one. And so all their goodes and money taken from theim, he laied the feloes faste and suere in irons at *Pergamus* (a toune in *Asia*, & a prouince of the Romaines) and went vnto *Iulius* the chief iustice, hauing at that time the ordring of the prouince of *Asia*, vnto whom it belonged to punish soche as wer taken for any trespace. But the saied *Iulius* rather hauing iye vnto the money (for it was no smal somme) saied that he would at leasure, se what was to be doen with the persons whom he had taken. Wherfore *Caesar*, when he sawe his tyme, biddyng him farewel, toke his iourney vnto *Pergamus*, and hanged me all thesaid thieues on ieobettees, from the first to the last, accordinglie as he had ofte times made promise vnto theim, while he abode in the Isle, &c.

2. What *Iulius Caesar* saied to his mother, when he stode for the dignitee of highe bishop in *Rome*.

When he made suite and labour to haue the dignitee of high *prelate or ordinarie at Roome (Quintus Catulus, a manne of right high dignitee and power emong the Romaines, standyng in eleccion with hym for thesame office) vnto his mother bryngyng him going to the gate: Mother (said he) this daie shall ye haue your sonne, either the high prelate, or els a banished man.

Iulius Caesar a man of a wonderous haulte courage

¶ An hault courage toward, and that could in no sauoe a bide to be put backe.

*There was in Rome of old antiquitee a certain college, that is to say a compaignie or feloship of magistrates, to whom apperteined the ordering, ministering, executing and iudging of all sacres, of all holy rites, ceremonies, funeralle obsequies, & of all other causes that in any point concerned religion. And thei wer called *Pontifices*. And there were of them twoo orders, that is to wete, inferiours and superiours, as if ye should saie (at lestwise in case the terme maie serue) bishoppes and archbishops. And emong them was one hedde, that was called *summus Pontifex*, the highest prelate, and as ye would saie: the chief ordinarie, to whose power and aucthoritee belonged to make constitucions, concernyng al the saied

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saied rites, ceremonies, and all poinctes of their religion, and to see reformacion of all inferiour magistrates, encurryng any contumacie, contempte, or disobedience. This magistrate was firste instituted by *Numa Pompilius* the seconde kyng of Roome.

3. His wife * Pompeia, because she was in greate slaunder (as one that had misused hirself with Clodius) in deede he forsoke & put awaie from him. But yet when Clodius was vexed in the law, and arrained for thesame matter, Cæsar being called forth for a witnesse, reported no euill worde by his wife. And when the accuser saied, Why then hast thou made a diuorce with her? Forsothe (quoth he againe) because the wife of Cæsar ought to be pure and cleare from all slaunder too. ☞ as well as from the crime.

* *Iulius Caesar* forsooke and put awaie his wife *Pompeia*. This *Pompeia* was *Caesars* .iii. wife, as witnesseth *Plutarchus*, his firste wife was *Cornelia* the doughter of *Cinna* afore mencioned, by whom he had a doughter called *Iulia*, whiche was afterward maried vnto *Pompeius* the greate.

¶ Besides the witnesse of the aunswere, his ciuilitee also maie well be praised, that he spared to defame his wife whom he had abandoned.

4. When he read the chronicle of Alexander the greate, he could not forbeare to water his plantes. And to his frendes he said: At thissame age (quoth he) that I am of now, Alexander had subdued Darius, and I haue not yet vnto this daie, dooen so moche as any one valiaunte acte of prowesse.

Caesar, when he reade the actes of *Alexander*, could not hold wepyng.

The ambicion of *Iulius Caesar*

¶ *Suetonius* writeth this thing to haue chaunced, at what time *Caesar* beyng lorde * president in Spain, & ridyng his circuite, to holde the graunde iuries or lawe daies, in tounes appoincted for sises and sessions to be kept, had seen the Image of *Alexander* in the temple of † *Hercules* within the Isle of *Gades*. But would God soche a nature as this, would rather haue vsed his forwardnesse and quicke spirite, in taking after a prince of a sober sort, then after one that would be perelesse, & alone aboue all others.

* After that the cite of *Rome* had subdued many countrees, thei did from yere to yere, create and sende into euery seuerall prouince, that thei had a seueralle magistrat, who was called *Praetor*, a lorde presidente. To whose aucthoritee apperteined the determinacion of causes, and the redresse of all matters, concerning iustice and lawe. A magistrate of moche like sort, as is here in Englande the lorde president

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president of the counsaill in Wales, and the lorde presidente of the counsaill at Yorke, sauing that the *Praetor* of Rome had the assistence, aide and mainteinaunce of men of armes, wheresoeuer he wente to kepe sises, sessions, courtes or lawdaies, or to sit in iudgemente.

† In the moste ferthest part of Spain, beyonde *Granado* westwarde are twoo litle Isles called, *Gades*. In the lesse of these twoo Isles, was a citee called *Iulia*, inhabited all with citezens of Roome. There was also in thesame a temple, dedicated vnto *Hercules*, in whiche it is thoughte by many persones, that the twoo pillers of *Hercules* wer, whiche pillers wer of brasse, eight cubites high a piece: whiche *Hercules* (when he had peregrated all the worlde, as ferre as any lande went) did erecte and set vp for a memoriall that there he had been.

5. As he passed by a beggerie litle toun of cold roste in the mountaines of Sauoye, his compaignie that were with hym, puttyng doubtes and questions, whether in that dog hole, also, wer sedicions & quereles for preeminence and superioritee, as there continually were in Rome, he staied and stoode still a pretie while musing with hymself, & anone, Well (quoth he) I promise you, I for my part had lieffer to bee the firste, or the chief man here, then the seconde man in Rome.

The ambicion of *Iulius Caesar* *Nec Rome potuere pati Caesarue priorem Pompeius ue parem.*

Neither *Caesar* could abide to haue any superior, nor *Pompeius* to haue any man feloe with him.

¶ This certes is euen verie it, that is written in the poete *Lucanus*, that neither *Caesar* could abide to haue any man aboue hym, ne *Pompeius* to haue any peere.

6. He saied that thinges of high enterprise (because thei are subiecte vnto daungers, and wer greate) ought to bee executed and dispetched out of hande, and none aduise ne deliberacion to bee taken of theim, because that to the goyng through with soche matters, celeritee doeth verie greate helpe, and castyng of perilles dooeth plucke a manne backe from hardie auenturyng.

Iulius Caesar would high enterprises to bee goen through withall, without castyng of any perilles.

7. When he departed out of the prouince of Galle, to matche against Pompeius, assone as he was ones passed ouer the flood of Rubicon, now (saieth he) be * it past casting the dice again (☞ as if he should haue said, now happe what shall hap, let altogether turn which waie it will.)

Omnis iacta sit alea.

¶ Declaryng

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¶ Declaryng that he was vtterly mynded to put all in hasarde to make or marre, & to bee man or mous. For the said floud of *Rubicon* disseuereth the *Galle Cisalpine* from Italie.

* There is a prouerbe, *omnem iacere aliam*, to cast all dice, by whiche is signified, to set al on sixe and seuen, & at al auentures to ieoperd, assaiyng the wild chaunce of fortune, be it good, be it bad. Therefore when *Caesar* saied: be al dice alreadie cast. His meaning was, to bee now ouerlate to repente that he had doen, or to cal again yesterdaie. And therfore that he would now cast no more peniworthes in the matter, but go through with his purpose, chaunce as it would. *Cadat alea fati* (saith *Lucanus* in the persone of *Caesar* against *Pompeius*) *alterutrum mersura caput*, that is, *Let the dye of fate, chaunce as it will, Thone or other of our liues to spill. Euripides, Plato, Terence, Plutarchus, Lucianus*, and other writers mo, liken the life of manne to the game of Dicing, in whiche plaie, what to caste lieth not in our handes, but onely in chaunce and fortune, but that that we haue caste, wee maie with policie, conueighaunce, and good orderyng, if it bee well caste, vse and applie it to our commoditee, if the contrarie, yet tempre it the lesse to hurte vs.

8. When Pompeius had forsaken Rome, and had fled to the seas, Metellus the high treasourer of Rome withstoode Cæsar, being desirous and fain to take money out of the treasurie, and shut vp thesame treasurie fast. But Cæsar threatened to slea him, whiche woorde when it had astouned the saied Metellus, Iwis young man [quoth Cæsar] this thing was more harde for me to speak then to do.

Metellus letted *Caesar* going aboute to take money out of the treasure of Roome.

The manacing of greate men.

¶ Meaning that it was in his power euen with a beck of his hed, to put to death whomsoeuer he wer disposed, forasmoche as whersoeuer he went, he had with hym a bende of harnessed menne.

9. At a toune of * Durach he taried, lokyng that mo soldiours footemen should bee sent thither vnto hym from † Brunduse. Which thing forasmoche as it was very slacke and long in doyng, gettyng hym priuelie into a little foist, he assaied to passe ouer the sea of Adria. And the vessel, beyng euen wel nigh ouerwhelmed and sounken, with the maine swellyng sourges of this fierse sea, vnto his pilote being now clene in despair to escape

* *Durachium* or *Dyrrachium* a toune in *Macedonia*, first called *Epidamnum*, but the Romanes when thei had conquered it, would nedes haue it called *Dirrachium*, this was

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escape drounyng, and thinkyng to be no waie but one, Cæsar opened who he was, saiyng: Put thy trust and affiaunce in ladie Fortune, and weete thou well, that thou carriest Cæsar in this little boate of thyne.

when he went to pursue *Pompeius.*

†*Brundusium* a toune in the royalme of Naples, liyng vpon the sea of *Adria*, from which *Brunduse*, lieth the passage ouer into Grece.

¶ He was of soche excedyng hault courage, as though he had had bothe the goddes, and fortune euen at his owne will and commaundement. But yet at that present season the rage of the tempeste wexyng stil worse and worse, he was letted of accomplishing that he had entended. But assone as his souldiours (☞ that wer alreadie at *Durach*) had knowelege of this his doyng, thei came fulle and whole rennyng vnto *Caesar*, and tooke verie greuously, if thesame looked for any mo, or other bendes of men, as hauyng some mistruste in theim.

The excedyng haulte courage of *Iulius Caesar*

The hartes of *Caesars* souldiours towardes hym.

10.

But when it came to the battreyng and triall of strokes, Pompeius wone the field, but he did not folowe his victory to the vttermost ☞ (as he should haue doen,) but reculed backe to his campe. Then saied Cæsar, This daie (quoth he) the victorie was in the possession of our enemies, but thei haue not a capitaine that can skille how to vse victorie, when he hath it.

Pompeius wone the first felde against *Caesar*

Pompeius could no skill (saied *Caesar*) howe to vse a victorie

11.

When Pompeius had commaunded his armie, albeet thesame wer prest and in full readinesse to fight at Pharsalum, yet there to demourre, and to tarrie the comyng of their enemies: Cæsar auouched hym to had doen ferre wide, in that he had by soche delaie and tariaunce, in maner killed the habilitee, the fiersenesse, and a certain diuine inspiracion of his souldiours hartes, beeyng fully appoincted and redie to fall vpon their enemies.

Pharsalum or *Pharsalos* or *Pharsalia*, a citee in *Thessalia*, in the feldes of which *Caesar* vanquished *Pompeius.*

Iulius Caesar matched *Pompeius* not onlie in the fortune of battail, but also in the experience.

¶ So greatly did *Caesar* contende and striue with *Pompeius*,

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Pompeius, not onely aboute the fortune of battaill, but also in the experte knowlege of warre kepyng.

12. When he had euen at the first choppe of encountreyng, vanquished * Pharnaces, he wrote briefly to his frendes after this sort: I came, I looked, I conquered.

* *Pharnax* or *Pharnaces* kyng of *Pontus*, & soonne of *Mithridates*, whom beyng his owne father he persecuted, and at length droue to kil himself. For he fauoured *Pompeius* making warre against *Mithridates*. And in fine thesaied *Pharnaces* rebelling against *Caesar*, was by thesame discomfaicted, vanquished & driuen out of his countree. This feloe (saieth *Lucius Florus*, who writeth an abbridgement of the Chronicles of Rome, out of the histories of *Titus Liuius*) was by *Iulius Caesar* euen at one felde, & yet not that al foughten, so troden vnder feete, as it had been a thing with a flashe of lightenyng, sodainly crummed to dust and pouther.

¶ Signifiyng the greate celerite and spede of doyng.

13. After that the soldiours and men of armes, whiche folowed Scipio in Afrike wer fled, and Cato being vanquished by Cæsar had killed himself at Vtica, these were the woordes of Cæsar: I enuie to thee O Cato this death of thyne, sens thou haste enuied vnto me the sauyng of thy life.

Scipio a noble capitain of Roome.

Of *Cato* is afore noted in the 31. *apophthegme* of *Augustus Caesar*, where vnto is to be added, that *Caesar* made all the speede and meanes possible to haue *Cato* aliue, and when he could not, he wrote a boke of vnkindenesse against him, whiche he entiteled *anti-Cato*.

¶ *Caesar* thought it a thyng like to redounde highly to his honour and renoume, if soche a noble man as *Cato* hauing been ouercomed in battaill, shuld be bound to hym, and no man els for his life. But *Cato* rather chose death with honour, then after the oppressing of the publike libertee and fredom, to be as a bondseruaunt to any persone. And therefore *Caesar* enuied vnto *Cato* the honor of soche a death because he had enuied vnto *Caesar* the laude and praise of sauyng the life of *Cato*.

14. Persones not a fewe (because thei had Antonius and Dolobella in great mistrust ☞ lest thei should conspire and werke some treason against *Caesar*) gaue warnyng vnto thesame, that he should in any wise beware of them. Tushe, no no (quoth Cæsar) I feare not these ruddie coloured and fat bealied feloes, but yonder same spare slender skragges,

What *Iulius Caesar* said when he was warned to beware of *Antonius & Dolobella* *Antonius & Dolobella* fat and well coloured.

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skragges, & pale salowe coloured whoresoonnes, shewyng with his finger Brutus & Cassius.

Brutus & Cassius leane and pale.

¶ Neither did his suspicion deceiue him, for of them .2. was he afterward slain in dede. Of which matter soch as be learned maie reade *Plutarchus* and *Suetonius*.

Brutus & Cassius slue *Iulius Caesar*.

Communicacion beeyng on a tyme in a supper season begun, what kinde of death was best, he aunswered without making any bones: That is sodain & nothing thought on.

15. What kinde of death *Iulius Caesar* thought to be beste.

¶ And that he iudged to be best, chaunced to him in deede. ☞ *Plutarchus* saieth that he supped thesame time (beyng the daie next before his death) at the hous of *Marcus Lepidus*, his greate and faithfull frende.

In a certain battree he caught fast by the hedde and the cheekes, the standarde bearer of one of the legion called Marciall, hauing turned his backe to flee, and plucked backe the contrarie waie. And stretching forth his hande to his enemies ward, saied: Whether goest thou awaie thou feloe? Yonder been thei, that wee fight against.

16. When one of *Iulius Caesars* standarde bearers wold haue fled, *Caesar* plucked him backe by the throte, to go towards his enemies.

¶ Thus with his handes he chasticed one persone and no moo, but with these sharpe and poinaunt woordes, he cleane put awaie the fearfull tremblyng of al the legions, & where thesame wer at the very poinct to bee discoumfaicted, he taught theim a lesson to winne the victorie.

The waie to winne victorie is not to flee, & to renne awaie from the enemies.

After that Publius Mimus, a plaier of wanton enterludes, and other iestyng toies had on the staige in open presence, ferre passed all his feloes, and emong them one Laberius ☞ a maker & a plaier as *Publius* was, thesame Iulius Cæsar pronounced the sentence of iudgemente in this wise. Cæsar shewyng thee O Laberius, all the fauour that maie bee, thou art ouercomed of the Syrian.

17. How *Iulius Caesar* gaue iudgemente of *Laberius* beyng ouercomed by *Publius Mimus* in iestyng and plaiyng.

¶ For

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¶ For thesaied *Publius* was in condicion or state of liuyng a bondeman, & of nacion or countree a *Syrian* borne. Ferre a waie is he left behind, that is ouercomed the iudge beyng his frende, or shewyng hym fauour. ☞ And the iudge beyng but indifferent, it was to to ferre oddes, that a *Syrian* borne should in Roome ouercome a Romain.

18. What *Iulius Caesar* said when he saw in *Rome* straungers carrie young puppees & in their armes to plaie withall.

When Cæsar saw in Rome, certain aliens that wer riche and welthie persones, carriyng aboute the streates in their armes and bosomes, little young dogges and apes, & to make all sporte and plaie with thesame, he demaunded whether the women in their Countree, did bryng foorthe no children.

¶ Meanyng that there were no soche young whelpes of any kinde, more pleasaunte to plaie or finde pastime withal, then their own little swete babes. *Plutarchus* telleth this historie in the life of *Pericles*, albeeit he sheweth not whiche *Caesars* saiyng it was, I deme it to be *Augustus Caesars*.

Pericles a noble man of *Athenes* whiche gouerned the commonweale there by the space of .xl. yeres, a man in naturall eloquence incomparable.

19. What *Iulius Caesar* said to his soldiers being in greate feare of their enemies, whose comyng thei daily loked for. This king was the king of the *Persians*.

When he sawe his soldiours to be wondrous sore afeard of their enemies, whiche thei looked for daily, he spoke openly to the whole compaignie in this maner. Be it knowen to you al, that within these very fewe daies, there will come hither a kyng with x. Legions, xxx. M. horsemen, of others in light harnesse an hundred .M. and .iii. C. elephantes. Therfore some emong you here, ceasse to make any ferther enquirie or serche, or to conceiue this or that opinion, and geue the credence vnto me, who haue certaine knowlege of all the truthe, or els in faithe I will cause all soche persones to be put in the oldest and moste rotten ship that I can get, and to be carried hens what soeuer winde shall blowe, into what soeuer Countrees it shall chaunce at auenture.

¶ A

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¶ A straunge facion of puttyng awaie fear, not by naie saiyng, ne by lessenyng the nomber of the enemies, but by encreasing the occasion of terrour, to the ende that beyng adcerteined, of sore perille and hasard to come, thei might take vnto them stomakes & hartes for soch great daunger conuenable.

Greate matter of daunger requireth harte & stomake according, for to resiste thesame

To certain persones comyng in with their fiue egges, how that Sylla had geuen ouer his office of Dictature, as he shuld do, wher as Cæsar kept it still, and would not out of it at all (whiche thing to dooe, lacked verie little of plaine vsurpacion of tirannie:) he aunswered that Sylla was not bokishe, nor halfe a good clerke, and therefore gaue vp his * Dictature.

20. What *Caesar* said for his excuse of not leauyng the office of *Dictatour*.

Iulius Caesar saied that *Silla* was not half a good clerke.

¶ Schoolemaisters, when thei shewe afore worde by woorde, or els recite vnto their scholares, what to write after them, ar said properly in latine *Dictare discipulis*. *Caesar* hereunto alludyng, saied that *Sylla* was not halfe a cunnyng clerke.

Dictare discipulis.

☞ Meaning, as I suppose, that on the one side, if *Silla* had ben so wel seen in histories, in chronicles, and in experience of the worlde, as to consider what great daunger it was, from soche an office so long time by strong hande, continued, to returne to his former state of a priuate man again, he would haue looked twis on the matter, ere he would haue geuen it vp, (of whiche matter is somwhat touched afore in the .24. *apophthegme* of *Diogenes*) and on the other side, that soche a persone as should be in a rome, of soche high power and aucthoritee, that what soeuer he would commaunde, must and should nedes be doen, ought to be a manne of high wisedome, knowlege, and discrecion, to kepe himself vpright in all behalfes, and to dooe nothing by violence and power, whiche he might not at all times after auouche and iustifie, as *Silla* had doen, who in the tyme of his *Dictature*, would not onelie be ruled by no lawes ne minister any iustice but ferthermore, vsed soche detestable crueltee and tirannie ouer the citee, and all degrees and sortes of men, as could not chuse afterward, but redounde to his finall confusion and exterminion. Albeit (excepte my memorie faile me) the histories saien that *Silla* gaue not vp the saied office, vntill he laie sicke in his death bedde.

* For the better vnderstanding of this place, it is to bee noted, that by reason that the citie of *Rome* was rewled by two persones of eguall power, who wer called Consules and wer chaunged from yere to yere, there chaunced ofte times matter of contencion & strief, whether of the twoo Consules shuld go to battaille, or if thei kept warre in .2. places at ones, whether should go to this place and whether to that. And by reason of soche contencion, many times thaffaires of the citee proceded not, and the citee self was oft in greate daungier. It was therefore by a lawe prouided, that in soche time and state of the commonweale, if the twoo Consules betwene theim twain, or els the Senate emong theim, did not ne would agree, there should

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should bee elected an officer, who was called *Dictator*, as if ye should saie, a lord commaunder, he was called also, *Magister populi*, the maister of the people. His office was called *Dictatura*, the Dictatourship, or the Dictature. Whiche was as touching his aucthoritee, the verie absolute power of a king. And whatsoeuer the Dictatour commaunded, or bid to be doen, should bee executed without any maner let, contradiccion, or reasoning. And because the power was so greate, it was by thesame lawe prouided, that no one persone should continue in it aboue the space of 6 monethes at ones. And whosoeuer would not geue vp the Dictature at the 6 monethes ende, encurred the suspicion of tirannie, and of conspiryng to be a king, and thereby the crime of high treason against the commonweale. This lawe notwithstanding, *Silla* being Dictatour, would not at his due time yeld vp his office, but by meanes vsurped a perpetual dictature, for the term of 120. yeres, yet at last he gaue it vp in his last daies. Then came *Iulius Caesar*, and so semblealie vsurped the Dictatourship for terme of life. And of that came in, the power of them who wer afterward called *Caesares*. And the office of Dictature ceassed. Neither was there any that wer called *perpetui dictatores*, that is perpetuall dictatours, or dictaturs for terme of life, but these twoo afore named.

21. *Caesar* toke verie greuouslie, that one *Aquila* a *Tribune* made no reuerence to him at his triumphe.

As Cæsar makyng his triumphe, passed along by the seates of the Tribunes, Pontius Aquila being one of the nomber of the Tribunes, alone of them all not ones arose out of his place, to doe hym any reuerence. This matter Cæsar tooke so highly eiuill, that he said to him as loude as he could cry, Then come thou Aquila beyng a Tribune and take the commonweale out of my handes. Neither did he by the space of a good many daies together after, make promisse of any thyng vnto any persone, but with this excepcion, At lest wise if we maie be so bolde for Pontius Aquila.

* There wer certain men of office & aucthoritee in *Rome* called *Tribuni*, thei wer as chief of the commons. And their power was as wel in making of Lawes and decrees, as also in all other causes, to intercede betwene the Senate and the people, that the lordes and nobles might not by any newe founde actes, statutes, or decrees, in any wise oppresse or greue the commonaltee. And so greate was their aucthoritee in this behalf, that whatsoeuer the Consules or Senate would enacte, if but one of the *Tribunes* saied naie to it, all their doing was voide, ne could take any effect. The College of *Tribunes* for the people in *Rome*, might well be likened to the compaignie of the Bourgoeisses of the Parliament here in England. Ther were of the *Tribunes* at the first no more but twaine, afterwarde sixe, in processe a college of 36. There wer also *Tribuni militares*, Tribunes of the soldiers, whose office was to see that the souldiours wer wel armed and appoincted as thei should be.

22. *Iulius Caesar* refused to be called kyng.

Unto the people for flatterie, salutyng hym by the name of kyng, I am Cæsar, (quoth he) I am no kyng.

¶ He

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¶ He rather chose to bee called by his own priuate name, than by the name of kyng, whiche at that tyme was sore hated in the citee of Rome.

Some one feloe of the people had set on the image of Cæsar a garlande of Laurell wound about with a white linen rolle. But when the Tribunes, the lynen rolle pulled of, had * commaunded the feloe to pryson, Cæsar after that he had geuen the Tribunes a sore rebuke for it, depriued thesame of their offices. And that he might not by so doing seeme to attempte the vsurpacion of the name and power of kyng, he pretended for an excuse, the glorie of refusing soche honour his owne selfe to had been taken away from hym by theim. 23. A croun wound aboute with a white linen rolle was the token of a kyng, and was the verie Diademe. *Iulius Cesar* put out of office the *tribunes*, whiche had taken awaie from his porterature, a kynges Diademe.

* *Plutarchus* saith that a diademe or croune Emperialle, was at this time set on sondrie Images of *Caesar* in diuerse places, and the twoo *Tribunes* that plucked awaie the crounes, he nameth the one *Flanius*, & the other *Marullus*, and addeth that thesame *tribunes* did cast in prieson all soche persones, as thei founde had salued *Caesar* by the name of kyng.

Because Cæsar had chosen many alienes of straunge countrees into the senate, ther was a bil written and set vp, that it should be a good deede, if some man woulde goe shewe the parliament chaumbre to one of the newe chosen Senatours straungiers. 24. *Iulius Caesar* chose many aliens into the nombre of Senatours of Rome

¶ He mened (what feloe so euer it was that set vp the bill) those foreners newly made senatours of *Rome*, not so muche as to knowe the waie to the senate hous, except thesame wer shewed vnto them.

A feloe wrote vnder the image of Brutus Would God thou wer yet aliue: because that Tarquinius the last king of Rome was expulsed and driuen out of the citee by the meanes of the saide Brutus. And vnder the porturature of Cæsar thei had written emong theim, verses of this sense and meanyng. 25. What poses certain persones wrote vnder the images of *Brutus* and *Caesar*.

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Brutus quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est,
Cesar quia consules eiecit, rex postremus factus est.

Brutus * for chacyng of kynges out,
Was created first Cònsull of Roome,
Cæsar for driuyng Consuls out,
Is now last of all a kyng become.

* There were seuen kinges of Rome, the first *Romulus*, the seconde *Numa Pompilius*, the thirde *Tullus Hostilius*, the fourth *Aucus Marcius*, the fifth *Tarquinius Priscus*, the sixth *Seruius Tullius*, the seuenth *Tarquinius* the proude. Who for his high minde & ouerstately vsing his citezens, and for his moste horrible cruelte, encurred their mortal disdain and hatred. And so it was that while thesame *Tarquinius* was from *Rome* laiyng siege to the toune of *Arde*. His soonne *Sextus Tarquinius* came to Rome priuely by night, and by force and violence rauished *Lucretia* the wife of *Tarquenius Collatinus* against her will, whereupon the said *Collatinus* and *Iunius Brutus* the kynges systers sonnes confederated with *Tricipitinus* banished for euer out of Rome bothe the sonne and the father, and shut the gates of the citee against theim. And made a lawe that there should neuer after bee any more kynges in Rome, but twoo magistrates gouernours, whiche should be named Consules. And the first Consull in Rome were created thesaied *Lucius Iunius Brutus*, and shortly after ioyned to *Tarquenius Collatinus*. And of thesame *Brutus* descended this *Brutus* here mencioned, who with *Cassius* conspired, wrougt and executed the death of *Iulius Caesar*.

Better ones to die then euer to feare said *Iulius Caesar*.

26. When likelyhood appered treason and conspirisie on euerie side to be wrought against him, and warning was geuen him that he should take good heede to himself, he aunswered, that better it was ones for all together to die, then to be in perpetual care of takyng heede.

One were as good bee out of the world as to liue in perpetuall feare of death.

¶ Signifiyng that persone not to liue, who liueth in perpetuall fear of death.

The animositee & courage of *Iulius Caesar*.

27. When Cesar, after that he had made the ☞ Tigurines crye creake, beynge on his waye towardes a certaine citee of people ioyned in league with hym, heard that another sorte of the † Suyceners were comming against him in the waye that he had to goe, he reculed into a certain place strong and well fensed. There all his compaignie gathered together, and wel set in aray, his horse ‡ that he had been accustomed to ryde on, was brought vnto him. Well (quoth Cesar)

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Cesar) after that I shall haue gotten this victorie and not afore, I will occupie this horse in pursuing myne enemies. And so euen on foote he set vpon the Suyceners.

☞ The *Tigurines*, a people of Germanie, whiche dooen inhabite the fourth part of Suycerlande.

† The *Suyceners* are the whole nacion of Suycerlande, whiche is called in Latine *Heluetia*, and the people of *Heluetii*, menne of soche sorte, that for money they will fight, they care not vnder whose banner. And subiectes they ar vnto no prince, ne do any thing passe on life or death heauen or helle.

‡ *Plutarchus* in the life of *Caesar*, and *Plinius* in the .42. chapter of the eight booke doen write, that *Iulius Caesar* had an horse with feete facioned and shaped like a mans foote, and the houfe deuided as it were into two toes euen as a man hath. And that he woulde not suffer anye body to sytte him, or gette vp on his back, sauing onely *Caesar*. A like straunge thing is afore noted of *Bucephalus* the horse of *Alexander*.

28. What *Considius* a Senator of Rome sayed vnto *Caesar* doyng al thinges by force & violence in Rome.

Cesar now openly doing many thinges by plaine might and power, and contrarie to all lawes, one Considius beyng a man veray ferre striken in age, plainly and with a bolde spirite saied vnto hym, that the senates were for this cause onely slacke in meeting and sitting in counsaill, that they stood in feare of his billes & glieues. And when Cesar at these wordes had saied, Why then doest not thou for thesame feare, kepe thy selfe at home within thy house? Naye as for me (saied Considius) old age maketh me out of feare. For sence ther is but a very litle litle tyme of my lyfe behinde, there is no cause why I shoulde take any greate care or thought for the matter.

29. What *Iulius Caesar* saied to a Souldiour making vaunte that he had receiued a wounde in the face for him.

Iulius Cesar vnto Pomponius a launce knight, making moche a doe of a wounde receiued in the face, at the insurrection whiche Sulpitius * made against the Senate, whiche wound thesaid launce knight made a braggue that he had taken in fightyng for Cesar, Well (saied he) neuer looke behynd thee againe when thou rennest awaye.

¶ Soche

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¶ Soche a like thyng dooeth *Macrobius* father vpon *Augustus Caesar*, *Quintilianus* ascribeth it to *Iulius Caesar*.

* This *Sulpitius* was a *Tribune* or Bourgeoyse for the people in the time of *Sylla* & *Marius*, when *Caesar* was a veray young man. Of whome *Plutarchus* in the life of *Sylla* writeth in this maner. Therfore *Marius* toke vnto him *Sulpitius* a *Tribune* of the people, a man in no poincte behinde, whosoeuer was moste flagicious. And neuer aske ye the question how he was more vngracious then an other, sence he was more mischeuous then his own self, a man of exceding crueltee, and set a gog with toto moche both presumpcion and auarice. To whatsoeuer deedes doyng abhominacion and all kindes of mischief had enticed him, he had no regarde, he had no consideration to sell the common weale of Rome euen in the open strete to men that had been not many daies afore bondeseruauntes, and to denisens hauing not a foote of lande of their own, and to tel soche money as was by them paied vpon tables set euen in the open mercate place. He mainteined three thousand persones that neuer went without sweordes and bucklers, he had also of young horsemen moste quicke and ready vnto all maner feactes a great power for the garde of his persone. And these he named *Antisenatum*, a coumpaignie to matche the Senatours. This man when he had made a lawe that no man of the degree and order of the Senatours might owe aboue two thousande drachmes at ones, him selfe when he was departed this worlde left thirtie hundred thousand drachmes that he owed of due debt. This man being set the people on by *Marius*, when he entended to doe all thinges with violence & with the sweorde, partely enacted many flagicious lawes, and especially one, whiche made *Marius* chief capitain of the warre to be made against *Mithridates*. Wherfore, the Consuls geuing commaundemente that the ministring of lawes should for a time ceasse, thesame Consuls declaring their myndes vnto the people in the temple of *Castor Sulpitius* bringing in among theim a coumpaignie of feloes in harnesse, both slewe many persones, and also thrust to the herte with a dagger the soonne of *Pompeius* then Consull, being of age in manier but a veray chylde, euen in the middes of the guilde halle. But he was within fewe daies after condemned to death by *Sylla*, and by the treason of one of his owne bondeseruauntes slaine, and the seruaunt made a free man (as *Sylla* had promised) and immediatly by the commaundement of thesame cast down hedlong from a rocke where he broke his necke.

30. Thesame Cæsar, when a certain plaintife to aggrauate his harmes, and to make the most of them, alleged that the partie accused, had strieken altogether at his thighes and legges, said: Why, what should he haue doen, thou hauing a salette on thy hed, and a cote of fense on thy bodie?

¶ He was not ignoraunt, for what cause the other feloe was desirous to strieke that parte chiefly, but the same thyng dissembled, he had more phansie to ieste. An helmette and a Jacke or platecote, hideth all partes of a manne, sauyng the legges.

Thesame

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Thesame Cæsar vnto Metellus, withstanding that he might not take any money out of the treasourie, or chamber of the citee and bringing forthe lawes, forbidding thesame to be doen: The tyme of weapon (saith he) and of lawes is not al one. That in case thou canst not be contented with the matter, now for this present get thee out of the waie, and after that (all leages and bondes of peace throughly driuen) wee shall haue laied doun al weapen, then (if thou shalt so thinke good) laie to my charge in the behalf of the people, & I shall make thee aunswer.

31. This is touched afore in the 8. *apophthegme.*

What *Iulius Caesar* said vnto *Metellus*, withstanding that he should not take any mony out of the treasurie of Rome.

Thesame Cæsar would often times saie that he had like entent and minde of dealing against his enemies, as the most part of good Phisicians haue against the maladies and sores of mennes bodies, which is, rather with hungre, then with iron to ouercome them.

32. Enemies in battaill, are to bee ouercum rather with famine then with the sweorde.

¶ For the Phisicians dooe not fall to cuttyng except all other meanes and waies afore proued. And this vsage euen at this present daie, still endureth emong the Italians: against all kindes of diseases, thei doe streightly enioyne abstinence. A like thyng vnto this it is, that *Domitius Corbulo* vsed moche to saie, that a mannes enemies in battaill, are to be ouercomed with a carpenters squaring axe, that is to saie, sokingly one pece after an other. A common axe, cutteth through at the first choppe, a squaring axe by a little and a little, werketh thesame effecte.

The Italians in all diseases doe enioine abstinence.

Domitius Corbulo would enemies to be ouercomed sokinglie by little and little.

It breded and areised greate enuie and grutching against Cæsar, that one of those persones, whom he had sent to Rome, standing in the senate hous, assone as he knew that the senate would not geue, ne graunt vnto Cæsar prorogacion, that is to saie, a longer time in his dictature, gaue a greate stroke with his hand, vpon the hiltes

33. What thing was occasion of great enuie & grutche againste *Iulius Caesar.*

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Iulius Caesar by force & violence oppressed the common weale

hiltes of his swerde, and saied: Well, yet this feloe here shall geue it.

¶ Threatenyng to the common weale, force and violence.

34. What *Caesar* saied to *Sylla* thretening to vse his power vpon him. *Silla* purchaced the pretourship with great giftes & rewardes.

Sylla hauyng obteined the pretourship, manaced Cæsar verie sore, that he wold vse his aucthoritee and power vpon hym: Yea, (quoth Cæsar laughing at it) thou doest of good right call it thy power, whiche thou haste bought with thy penie.

¶ Noting Sylla, that thesame had purchaced the saied office, by geuing greate giftes and rewardes.

35. Marcus Tullius in the third booke of that his werke entitled, de officijs (that is to say of honest behauour, or, how eche man ought to vse and to demean hymself) writeth that, Cæsar had euer in his mouthe these Greke verses, out of the thirde tragedie of Euripides entitled, Phoenissæ.

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.

That is.

If a man should nedes doe wrong,
It ought to bee onely in this case,
To make hymself a kyng, by hande strong,
In other thinges let right haue place.

36. How *Caesar* turned an euill likelihod to the better parte. * *Sextus Iulius Frontinus* a Latine aucthoure, that writeth .4. bokes of *stratagemes*, that is to saie, of the sleghtes and policies of warre.

When Cæsar goyng towardes the countree of Africa, had slipped and gotten a fall, in goyng out of a shippe, the likelyhood of euil chaunce to come, he turned to the better part, saiyng: I haue thee fast in my handes, o Afrike.

¶ *Frontinus* * thinketh, that this happened at his taking of shippe, and that he said I haue thee fast, O yearth, whiche art my mother. Alluding (as I suppose) herunto, that where he was on a time sore troubled with a certain dream, in whiche it semed to him, that, he

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he had to do with his owne mother, the reders or southsaiers expouned, thempire of al the whole world to be prophecied vnto him.

The dreame of *Iulius Caesar.*

¶ *The saiynges of Pompeius*

THE GREATE.



Neus* Pompeius, surnamed the greate, was with the people of Rome as ferre in fauor as his †father before him, had been in grutche and hatered. This Pompeius beyng yet a verie young man, wedded himself wholly to the faccion of Sylla. And although he wer neither any officer of the citee, nor senatour, yet he got vnto him out of one place and other of Italie, a greate armie. And when Sylla had commaunded thesame to come and ioyne with hym: Naie (quoth he) I will neuer presente an hoste vnto the high capitain of Rome, with out booties or spoiles, nor vnfleshed on their enemies. Neither did he repair vnto Sylla, before that he had in sondrie battrees and encountreynges, vanquished diuers capitaines of enemies.

I.

* Of *Pompeius* it is afore noted in the 8. *Apophthegme* of *Augustus Caesar.*

Pompeius being but a very yong man, gathered an armie in Itali, before that he was either any officer of the citie, or els a senatour, & tooke part with *Silla.*

† *Plutarchus* in the life of *Pompeius* writeth, that the Romaines neuer shewed against any capitain or hed citezen, either greater or els more eagre hatered, then against *Strabo*, the father of *Pompeius.* For duryng his life time, thei stode in perpetual fear of his great power, purchaced and gotten by the sweord (for he was a verie hardie and valiaunt manne of warre.) But after that he was ones departed out of this life, striken sodainly to death with a flashe of lightening, his corps being carried forthe to be buiried, the people violently haled the dedde bodie from the bere, and did vnto it all the most vilanie that thei could imagine. The cause why he was so sore hated, was esteemed to bee his vnsaciable auarice and coueteousnesse.

¶ Euen at the firste daie, shewed he a greate token & likelihood of a prince moste worthie, and borne to doe greate thynges. It was not his entent to bryng vnto Sylla philip and cheinie, mo then a good meiny, but to bryng hable souldiours of manhood approued and well tried to his handes.

And

2. And being now created a capitain, when he was by Sylla sente into Sicilie, he begun to doe the partes, not onely of a valiaunte and worthie capitain, but also of a iust and righteous capitain. For when he had heard, that his souldiours in going forthward on their viages, made by stertes out of their waie, and did moche oppression in the countree as thei wente, and pieled all that euer thei could finger, soche persones as he toke rouyng & trotting, or scuddyng from place to place, thei could not tell where aboute theim selfes, he punished, and what compaignie himself had sent afore, he emprinted on euery one of their swearde, the seal of his ryng, that thei should dooe no bodie no wrong, ne harme by the waie.

Pompeius euen at his first beginning did the partes both of a valiaunt and of a righteous Capitaine.

Pompeius wolde not his souldiours to doe any oppression or pielage where they went.

3. The * Mamertines (because thei had taken parte and sticked hard with the enemies of Sylla) he had appointed to slea euery mothers sonne. But Sthenius the Lorde of that citee or countree, came vnto Pompeius with these wordes: O Pompeius ye doe not according to equitee and conscience, in that ye goe about, for one mans cause that hath offended, to doe a great noumbre of innocentes to death. Iwys euen veray I my selfe am the man that both haue persuaded my frendes, and also haue coarcted mine enemies to take the parte of Marius gainst Sylla. Here Pompeius greatly marueiling at the manly herte of this Sthenius, said that he perdoned the Mamertines who had ben persuaded by soche a man, as preferred his countree aboue his owne life, & so deliuered bothe the citee and Sthenius.

* The *Mamertines* a people in *Sicilie*, whose toune was called *Messana*.

Sthenius the lord of the *Mamertines* toke parte with *Marius* against *Sylla*.

The noble and manlie harte of *Sthenius*.

This was doen in the Ciuile battaile betwen *Marius* & *Silla*

Pompeius for the respect of *Sthenius* perdoned the *Mamertines*.

¶ In *Sthenius* ye haue an example, what herte a prince ought to beare toward the commen weale in case any perill or daungier doe chaunce: and in

Pompeius

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Pompeius a good lesson of placabilitee or myldenesse in that he was more propense to shewe honoure vnto one that had a natural affection and zele toward his countree, then to execute his wrath to the vttermost.

When he had passed ouer into * Libya against Domitius, and had ouercomed the same in a †great & sore battaill, his souldiours full & whole saluting him with the title of Emperour, he saied, he would not take at their handes the honour of that high name, as longe as the trenches and bulwerkes of his enemies campe was standing whole. This heard, his soldiours (although it were then a greate raine to leat theim) sodainly with all their might assailing the campe of their enemies, wonne it, and beate it downe hande smoothe. 4. *Libya* a parte of *Afrike* adioynaunte to *Egipt*, so named of *Libya* the wife of *Epaphus Iupiters* soonne. The good courage of *Pompeius* his soldiours.

¶ Thus thesaied *Pompeius* refused an honoure not yet truly deserued with deedes. *Pompeius* refused honour vntil he knewe himselfto haue deserued it.

† He calleth it a great victorie, for thesaied *Domitius* (a noble Senator of Rome and Consull with *Messala*) perished in the battaill. And of .xx. thousande, whiche he hadde in an armie, there escaped aliue no mo but three thousand. At this victorie *Pompeius* subdued all *Aphrike* into the power of the Romaines. And for this victorie was he surnamed *Magnus*, and was called *Pompeius* the great.

Thesame Pompeius beyng returned from the saied victorie, was partely with other honours highly receiued by Sylla, & also besides other things he first of al gaue vnto him the surname Magnus, the great. But when Pompeius not satisfied with al this, would nedes triumphe to, Sylla would none therof, because Pompeius was not yet of the degree of a Senatour. But when Pompeius had saied vnto the coumpanie then present, Sylla to be ignoraunte, that mo persones doen worship the sunne when it ariseth, then when it goeth down, Sylla cried with a loude voice, Let him triumphe. 5. The surname of *Magnus*, when, wherefore, and by whome it was geuen to *Pompeius*. Mo persones worshippe the sunne when it ariseth, then when it goeth downe saied *Pompeius*.

¶ He

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Pompeius triumphed being a very young man not yet a Senatour.

¶ He was stricken in feare of the courageous stomake of the freshe young man, and of his glory daily more and more encreasing. Neither sticked he or put any doubtes to geue place vnto soch an one, as he sawe coulde in no wyse be brought to yelde an inche to any man liuing.

☞ The meanynge of *Pompeius* was, that the people woulde bee more propense to fauour the honoure and glorie of a young man comyng vpward, and growyng towardes the worlde, as himselfe was, then of an olde man beyng almoste past, and beginning to decaye, as *Sylla* nowe did.

6. In the meane whyle, euen against the tyme, Seruilius, a ioyly feloe and emong the heade menne in the commen weale highly estemed, was madde angry that a *triumphe was graunted to Pompeius. The souldiours also not a fewe of them made manye stoppes and lettes, that there might be no triumphe doen, not for that they bare Pompeius any grutche, but they required to haue certain rewardes distributed emong them, as though the triumphe must haue been bought at their handes with greate largesse: or els the souldiours threatened that they would echemanne for himself catche away of the treasures and richesse that should be carried about in the triumphe. And therefore the saied Seruilius and one Glaucia, gaue him aduise and counsaill rather willingly to parte the saide money emong the souldiours, then to suffer it to be taken away euery man a slyce by stronge hande. But when Pompeius hadde made theim aunswer that he would rather let al alone and haue no triumphe at all, then he would make any seeking or entreating to his owne souldiours, and euen with that worde set downe before theim the roddes bounden together with an axe in the mids garnished and decked with garlandes of laurell, that they should thereof first begyn their spoyle if thei

Pompeius would rather make no triumph at al, then flatter his souldiours, or buie it with money.

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thei durst: Nay (quoth Seruilius) nowe I see thee in veray deede to be Pompeius the great, and worthy to haue a triumphe.

Whattriumphe is honourable& shewe worthy.

¶ For *Pompeius* iudged no triumphe to be honourable and worthy shewe, except that it were as a thing in the waye of recompense or of dutie repaied to good demerites, without anye great suite making, and without giftes geuyng.

* When any consull or other high Capitaine by the Senate and people thereunto deputed, had holden great warres, and had with sauynge his owne armie (or at leastwise with smal losse of men) achiued some notable high conquest, or had gotten some excellent victorie vppon anye foren nation, kyng or capitain, to the high honour, renoume and auauncement of the common weale of Roome, or to the victorious enlargeing of the empier of thesame, he should at his retourning home bee receiued with all honour, ioye, solemnitee, pompe, and royaltee that might be deuised. He should haue to goe before him the kinge or capitaine by him subdued, and all captiues taken in the warres, he shoulde haue pageauntes as gorgeously set out as might be: of al the tounes, castels, fortresses, and people of prouinces by him subdued, himselfe should ride in a chairette moste goodly beseen, bare hedded sauinge a garland of laurell, and after his taile should come his owne souldiours with all ioye, mirth and solace that was possible to be made. And this was called a triumphe, the highest honour that might be shewed. Neither was it awarded to any man, but by the iudgement of the whole armie, with the decree of the Senate vppon the same, and consente of the whole vniuersall people, nor without the desertes aboue rehersed.

7.

The guise & custome in Rome for souldiours that had been horsemen in the warres.

It was the guyse in Roome, that the horsemen whiche had been a conueniente space of tyme foorth in the warres, should bryng foorthe their horse into a solempne place appoincted before by the twoo officers called Censours, and there, after rehearsall as well of soche viages as they had been in, as also of the capitaines vnder whom they had been in waiges, accordyng to their demerites, either to haue thanke and prayse, or els rebuke and blame. So Pompeius beeyng Consull, euen in his owne persone, came and brought his horse before Gallius and Lentulus then Censours, whiche persones according to the custome and vsage demaunding, whether he had truely exercised and doen all the partes and dueties to a souldiour belonging, Yea (quoth Pompeius)

Of the office of *censours* in Rome it is afore noted in the .37. saiyng of *Augustus Caesar*.

How *Pompeius* presented him self & his horse to *Gallius* and *Lentulus* the *Censours*.

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Pompeius so executed the office of a capitaine, that neuerthelesse he accomplished all the partes of an inferiour soldier. The higheste praise and commendacion that a capitain may haue.

Pompeius) to the vttermost in all behalfes vnder mine own selfe the Lorde high capitaine.

¶ Signifiyng, that he had in soche wyse executed and ministred the office of a capitaine, that he did neuerthelesse like no sleeper accomplyshe all poinctes that euer belonged to an inferiour souldiour. So was he one and thesame man, bothe an especiall good capitaine, and a lustie valiaunt man of his handes, then the whiche praise and commendacion there may none higher or greater possible chaunce to a capitaine.

8. When he had in Spaine taken the packette of * Sertorius his lettres, in the whiche were close trussed the lettres of capitaines not a fewe inuiting and calling thesame Sertorius to Roome, there for to make a newe turne of the worlde, and to chaunge the state of the citee, he burned the lettres euery one, to the ende that he woulde geue vnto the caitifes time and occasion to repent, and leue or power to chaunge their traitreous ententes to better.

The moderation and clemencie of *Pompeius*.

¶ This historie like as it might well be rekened in the nombre of thinges vnwrathfully and prudently doen, so doe I not see what it shoulde make emonge *Apophthegmes*. Albeit, right many of soche like sorte are founde in the collections of *Plutarchus*. If he had discried their names, thei would vndoubtedly by and by addressed theimselues to a manifest sedicion for veray feare of punishement. On the other syde, in that he suppressed and kepte secrete the lettres of his enemies, he gaue a good lesson what a great offence it is to open other bodies lettres, or to crie at the high crosse, what thou hast been put in truste withall by lettres vnder seale.

To open an other bodies lettres, or to discouer thinges committed to thee by lettres sealed.

* *Sertorius* was borne in *Nursia*, a toune of the *Sabines*, and was a citezen of Rome, at last an outlawe and a banyshed man, of whome *Plutarchus* thus telleth. Capitaines that haue been as good men of warre, as euer were any, haue lacked the one of their yies, as *Philippus*, *Antigonus*, *Annibal*, and this *Sortorius*, of whome no manne can denie, but that he was a man more chaste of his body in abstening

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absteining from women, then *Philippus:* more assured and feithful to his frendes, then *Antigonus:* lesse furious and eagre on his enemies, then *Annibal:* in wytte inferiour to neuer an one of theim all, but ferre behinde theim all in fortune, whiche fortune although he founde at all tymes more heauie and sore vnto him then he founde his enemies, yet did he matche to the vttermoste in perfectnesse of warre, *Metellus:* in hardinesse of auenturing *Pompeius*, in fortune *Sylla*, in power the whole people of Rome, being a man banished his owne countree, and bearing rule emong the *Barbarous*, that is to weete the Portugalles, whose countree is called in latine *Lusitania*.

9. How *Pompeius* answered *Phraates* king of the *Parthians* requiring *Euphrates* might bee the boundes of the dominion of Rome.

Unto Phraates kyng of the Parthians requiring of him by Ambassadours to be contented that the floodde * Euphrates might be the forthest marke for the boundes of the dominion of Rome, Naye, (quoth he) this were a more meete request to bee made, that iustice may disseuer the boundes of the Romaines from the royalme of the Parthians.

It was no prescribing to the Romains how ferre thei ought to extend their empier.

¶ Signifiyng, not to be any prescribyng to the Romaines, how ferre they ought to extend their Empier, from daily enlargeing whereof not hilles and flooddes ought theim to keepe backe: but in soche place & none other euermore to bee appointed the limictes and boundes of the Segniourie of Rome, where right would not suffre theim to passe any ferther.

* *Strabo* in his werke of *geographie*, that is to saie, of the description of the yearth, wryteth that out of *Niphates* (an hille in *Armenia*) springeth and issueth *Euphrates*, a great, a depe and a swifte ryuer, not ferre from the riuer of *Tigris*. It is the great ryuer of the *Parthians*, and passinge through *Babilon* it renneth into the redde sea. In the first booke of Moses *Euphrates* is rekened one of the foure ryuers, whose fountaines or hedspringes are in Paradise.

10. *Lucius Lucullus* in his latter daies gaue him selfe altogether to sensualitee.

When Lucius Lucullus after hauinge a long space folowed the trade of warre, gaue himselfe at the latter cast vnto all sensualitee, ne would doe any thing but spende & make good chere, and on a time called Pompeius foole, for that the same before he was of age conuenient, had great desire & mynd to be enwrapped in many coumbreous affaires, and highe doynges, Iwys (quoth Pompeius again) moche more out of season it is for an olde man to bestowe himself altogether on sensuall

What *Pompeius* saied of *Lucullus* reprouing hym for entryng doynges in the

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common weale ouer yong of age.

sensuall delices, then to be an hed gouernour in a commen weale.

¶ He greuously reproued the mynde & iudgement of those persones, which thinken, that aged folkes should haue no maner thinge at all to doe, whereas it were a gaye thing for a man hauing the rule and gouernaunce of a commenweale to die euen standing on his foote. And as for ryot and idlenesse, is in young men foly, in olde folkes abhominacion.

Riot & idlenes in yong men foly, in old folkes abhominacion.

11. Unto Pompeius liyng sicke, his Phisician had prescribed that his diete should be nothing but blackbyrdes. And when the parties that had the charge to purueie them, saied that there were none to bee gotten, (for it was not the season of the yeare in whiche this kynde of byrdes are wonte to be taken) one persone there, put theim in remembraunce, that there myght some bee founde at Lucullus his house, who vsed to kepe of theim aliue al the yere long. Why (quoth Pompeius) is the wynde in this doore, that except Lucullus were a man geuen to delices, Pompeius might in no wise continue aliue? And so the Phisician abandoned, he tooke him to meates purueiable.

The manly hart of *Pompeius*, in contemnyng sensuall delices.

¶ O a manly herte of the right sorte in deede, whiche would not bee bounde to ough thankes vnto delicate piekyng meates, no not for to saue his veray lyfe thereby.

12. When there was on a time befallen in Rome a great scarsitee of corne, Pompeius beyng declared in wordes and in title the purueiour of corne, but in veray deede the lorde bothe of the sea and lande, saylled in to Africa, Sardinia, and Sicilia: and a great quantitee of corne shortly gotten together, he made haste to returne to Rome againe. But the Mariners by reason of a sore

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sore tempest sodainly arisen, being lothe to take the seas, Pompeius himselfe first of all entreed into the shippe, and bidde the ancores to be waied or hoysed, criyng in this maner: To auenture sailyng necessitee constreineth vs, to liue it doeth not.

More regard ought to be had of our countree, beeyng in ieoperdie then of our owne priuate safegarde.

¶ Declaryng that more regarde ought to bee had of our countree beynge in ieoperdie, then of our owne priuate safegarde. For to spende our life in the cares of succouring & relieuyng the commenweale is a highe honestee: but our countree in extreme perill to be desolated through our slouthfulnesse or slacking is the foulest shame in the worlde: here be we put in remembraunce, that not onely brute beastes doen let go libertee, and come into seruitude, but also sturdie & stifnecked men are with famyn brought downe and made to stoope. We bee also taught that our priuate safegarde is lesse to be tendreed then the welth publique.

Menne be thei neuer so high are with famyn made tame enough.

When the breche betwene Pompeius & Iulius Cæsar was come to light and openly knowen, and one Narcellinus (as Plutarchus saieth, but by the iudgement of others, Marcellus,) one of the noumbre of those persones whome Pompeius was thoughte to had set on loft, had chaunged his mynde from thesame Pompeius vnto Cæsar, in so moche that he was not afearde to speake many wordes against Pompeius, euen in the Senate house, Pompeius cooled & wyshed him in this wyse: Art thou not ashamed O Marcellinus (quoth he) to rayll on that persone, by whose benefite thou arte made of a tounglesse body, eloquente, and of an hungresterued feloe, brought to soch point that thou mayest not hold vomityng.

13.

How *Pompeius* putte to silence one *Marcellinus*, railyng on hym in the Senate hous.

¶ He layed sore to the parties charge ingratitude, who abused all that the dignitee, autoritee, and eloquence

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The shamefull ingratitude of many persones

quence that he hadde, to the displeasure of thesame persone whome his bounden duetie had been to thanke for thesame. For this kynde of ingratitude is of all others moste vnhonest, but yet alas toto comenly vsed in the worlde.

14. Unto Cato ryght eagrelye yalling at Pompeius, because that where he the saied Cato had oftentimes afore tolde that the power of Cæsar from daye to daye encreasing, would in fine be no benefite at all to the publique gouernaunce of the citee, but was rather enclining & growyng towards tyrannie, ☞ yet *Pompeius* that notwithstandinge would nedes entre familiaritee & bee allied with him, Pompeius made aunswere after this sorte: Thy doynges O Cato doen more nere approche vnto the spirite of prophecie, but myne are moch better standing with frendship and amitee.

The ende of casual thinges in the worlde, no man dooeth ne maie forknowe.

¶ Mening that *Cato* talked at rouers, forasmuche as no man liuing may foreknowe of certaintee the ende of casuall thynges in the worlde to fall, and that he on his behalfe tooke soche wayes as the amitee and frendeship whiche was betwene him and *Caesar* at that present time required. It was a thing certain what of dutie ought to be doen for ones frende, but vncertain it was, whether one that was nowe his frende would afterwarde in time to come be his enemie. And of a frende it was more standing with humanitee and gentlenesse to hope the best, then to foredeme the worste.

Humanitee wil of a frende rather hope the beste, then fordeme the worst

15. He would frankely make open vaunte of himself, that euery publique office that euer he had borne in the citee, he had bothe obteined sooner then he for his parte loked for, and also had sooner geuen vp againe, then was of other persones looked for.

What vaunte *Pompeius* would make of hymself, touchyng offices bearyng in Rome.

¶ That he had so timely taken in hand to beare rewle and office, or to be hygh capitain of an armie, came

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came either of fortune or of manlynesse before the commen course of age werking in hym. That he gaue vp any office in due season againe, came of a moderate mynde, hauing an iye and respect not vnto tyrannie, but vnto the profite of the commenweale.

16. This king of *Egipt* was called *Ptolomeus* (as thei wer all for the most part) he had not long afore ben driuen out of his realme, and cam to *Rome* for aide & succor & was by *Pompeius* brought home againe with an armie, and set in possession of his croun, & in fine he slue *Pompeius*, (by whom he had been restored to his kingdome) and sent his hedde vnto *Caesar*, who as soone as he saw it wepte.

After the battail on the dounes of Pharsalia foughten, he fledde into Egypte. And when he should come doune out of his galie into a little fisher bote, sent purposely vnto hym by the king of Egypte, tournyng hymself backe to his wife and his sonne, he said no more but these wordes of Sophocles.

πρὸς τὸν τήραννον ὅστις ἐμπορεύεται,
κείνου 'στι δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

Whoso goeth, to dwell with a tyranne,
Though he came free, is made his bondman.

¶ It appeareth, that his herte throbbed afore, at his death approching, for as soone as he was descending into the bote, receiuing a stripe with a sweorde, he gaue but one sole grone, and wrapping vp his hedde in a thyng he helde it out to be strieken of.

17. What *Pompeius* said of *Cicero* whose chattyng he could not abide.

Pompeius because he could not, to dye for it, awaye with the chatting and continual bableing of Cicero, said many a time and ofte emong his familiare frendes, I would with al my hert that Cicero would departe from vs to our enemies, to thende that he might be afeard of vs.

Cicero of his nature & facion to his enemies lowly, & to his frendes froward.

¶ Notynge the nature and facion of thesame, of whiche by mens reporte he was to his enemies full of crouching and lowely submission, and towardes his frendes froward in opinion, and wondreous self-willed. This saiynge of *Pompeius* doeth *Quintilian* thus reherse, Departe from vs to *Caesar*, and then thou wilt be afeard of me.

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18. Thesame Pompeius after that he had had woondreous mishappe in battayle against Cæsar, being brought vnto vtter despaire, he came into his pauilion like vnto a man vtterly amased or a stonned & spake not one worde more, but onely this, Why then streight into our campe to. And by & by doing on him a wede aunswerable vnto his present fortune, he fled awaie secretly.

Pompeius brought to vtter despaire.

19. The sedicion of Sicilie suppressed and appeased, and the citees whiche had made the insurrection or rebellion peaseably & quietly receiued to grace again, only the Mamertines required to be heard, allegeyng & reciting certain lawes many yeares afore graunted vnto theim by the Romaines, Why (quoth Pompeius) will ye not surceasse to bring foorth and read lawes vnto vs hauing your sweordes gyrded about you.

Where the order of the lawe maie serue weapen hath no place.

¶ Signifiyng that in case they were disposed to be ordreed by the right of the lawes, they needed not to weare weapen about theim.

20. Thesame Pompeius when by lettres from the Senate to him directed he hadde perceiued, all that euer Sylla hadde by the sweorde vsurped, to be by the whole consent, agrement, and voices of the vniuersall people committed vnto his power and gouernaunce, he gaue a greate clappe on his thighe with his hande, and saied: Oh perill and daunger neuer like to haue ende. Howe moche better had it been for me, to haue been borne a poore mannes childe, if I shall neuer obteine to retire from the cures of warfare, ne beeyng clearely dispetched of soche matter and occasion of enuie as to be myne owne maister, that I maie with my wyfe lede a quiet life in the countree.

What *Pompeius* saied when all that *Sylla* had vsurped, was by the consente of the people of *Rome* putte into his handes

Pompeius wisshed to had been borne a poore mannes childe.

Greate power and aucthoritee who hath

¶ Great

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¶ Great power and autoritee, who hath not assaied it, maketh hyghe suite to haue, who so hath proued it, hateth deadly, but to leaue it, is a matter of no small daungier and perill.

not assaied, seketh, who so hath proued, hateth.

Certaine persones allegeing that they could not see howe he should bee hable to sustein or beare the furour of Cæsar, Pompeius with a merie countenaunce bidde theim to take no maner thought ne care for that matter. For (saieth he) as soone as euer I shall haue geuen but a thumpe with my foote on the grounde of Italy, ther shal anone come leaping foorthe whole swarmes, of bothe horsemen and footemen till we crie hoe again.

21. What *Pompeius* saied to certain persones, supposing that he could not bee able to beare the maugre of *Caesar*.

¶ A stout courage and a veray mans herte, if fortune had been aunswerable in doyng her parte.

The stoute and manlie harte of *Pompeius*.

Nowe if ye haue not yet your bealy full of this banquet, we shall adde also out of the noumbre of the Oratoures twoo or three of the principalles and veray best.

¶ *The saiynges of*

PHOCION.

☞ *Phocion* a noble Counsaillour of *Athenes*, a man of high wisdome, singulare prudence, notable policie, most incorrupted maniers, incomparable innocencie and integritee of lyfe, meruailous clemencie, moste bounteous liberalite, and to be short, a rare myrour to al Counsaillours. Yet all this notwithstanding, he was at length through enuie and falsely surmised accusacions, guiltlesse condemned and put to death by his owne countremen the *Atheniens*, and that so cruelly, that not only he suffreed the accustomed peines of death, but also after the execution, was cast out into the fieldes without sepulture or hauing so moch as one poore turf of earth to lie vpon him. Suche was partly the ingratitude and partly the madnes of the *Atheniens* in *Phocion*, *Socrates*, *Solon*, *Aristides*, and many moo innocent persones by their whole consent and agreement to persecute moste highe vertues in steede of moste haynous offenses, and with moste horrible iniuries to requite benefites.

Then

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Phocion a man of fewe woordes in tellyng his tale.

THen firste and foremooste shall ye haue *Phocion* of countree a man of *Athenes*, but a veray *Lacedemonian* as well in integritee of maners, as also in knitting vp his tale shortly at fewe wordes. He was euen *Socrates* vp and downe in this pointe and behalfe, that no man euer sawe hym either laughe or weepe, or chaunge his moode, of so great constancie of minde he was.

Phocion was neuer seen laugh ne wepe.

1. Unto this Phocion sitting in a greate assemblee of the people, a certaine persone saied in this maner: Phocion ye seeme to be in a great muse or studie. Right well coniectured of you it is (quoth he again:) For I am musing if I may cut of any part of the wordes that I haue to saie emong the Atheniens.

Phocion laboured in few wordes to comprise the effect of his matter.

¶ Other persones take great care & studie, to tell their tale at lengthe with all that maye be saied, to the ende that they may appeare eloquent: but he did all his endeuour and diligence to the contrarie, that is to wete, how to comprise and knitte vp in fewe wordes, soche thinges as should directly serue to the effecte and purpose of his matter.

2. A voice being by reuelacion sent to the Atheniens, that in thesame their citee one certain man there was, who euermore contraried and againsaied the myndes & sentencies of all the vniuersall multitude besides, and the people being in a great rore willed enquierie and serche to bee made who it was, Phocion discried himselfe, saiyng: Euen I am the man, whom the oracle speaketh of. For, me only nothing pleaseth of all that euer the commen people either doeth or saieth.

Phocion liked nothing that the grosse and rude multitude either did or saied.

¶ What may a bodie in this behalfe first maruaill at? The herte of this man being voyde of al feare? or els the pietie and compassion of him in that he would

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would not suffre this suspicion to light on the necke of one or other innocente persone? or els the singulare wisedome, by which he perfectly sawe that the rude & grosse multitude (for as moche as they are led all by affections and pangues) neither dooe ne saye any thing standing with good reason or discretion?

The multitude of the people, neither doen ne saien any thing right.

3.

On a certain daye Phocion making an oracion in presence of the people of Athenes pleased all parties veray well. And when he sawe his tale to be well allowed & accepted of the whole audience, he turned himselfe to his frendes, and saied: What, haue I ☞ (trowe we) vnawares spoken, any thing otherwyse then wel?

Phocion was tully persuaded that nothing procedyng of a right iudgement might please the people.

¶ So throughly was he perswaded, that nothing might content or please the grosse people, that proceded of a right iudgement.

4.

When the Atheniens of a course made a gathering about of the citezens to contribute eche man somewhat towardes a sacrifice that they prepaired and went about to make, and (other folkes geuing their deuocion towardes it) Phocion was more then a doosen times spoken to, It woulde be a shame for me (quoth Phocion) if I should with you make contribucion, and make to this man here no restitucion, (poincting to a creditour of his.)

What *Phocion* saied to certain *Atheniens* gathering money toward a Sacrifice.

¶ Right many ther been that thinken highly well emploied all that is bestowed or spent on temples, and on sacrifices, or on feasting at churche houses. But this ferre seyng man, did the people to vnderstand, that a moche more holy and godly thing it is, to repaie whom to a body is endebted, and what is it lyke that hee would now iudge ☞ (trowe ye) of those persones, who (their wyfe and chyldren defrauded) dooen edifie to the vse of men of the clergie or spiritualtee, palaices meete for kynges, and to mainteine the idle loytreyng

To repay wher a man oweth is an holie and a godlie thing.

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loytreyng of thesame, doen deburse & laye out no small porcion of their substaunce.

5. To Demosthenes the Oratour saiyng, the Atheniens will put thee to death one daye, O Phocion, if they shall ones beginne to be madde, he answered in this maner: Me in deede ☞ (as ye saye) if they shall beginne to be madde, but thee, if they shall come to their right wittes againe.

Demosthenes would speak al for to please, & rather sweete woordes, then wholesome.

¶ For *Demosthenes* in open audience of the people spake in maner all that euer he did for to please theim, and to obtein fauoure, and woulde speake rather sweete wordes, then holsome.

6. When Aristogiton a false accuser and bringer of men to trouble was now already condemned, and in pryson there for to dye, and hertely praied Phocion to come and se him, and Phocions frendes would not suffre that he should goe to soche a vile bodie: And ☞ I praie you (quoth he) in what place shold a man haue better phancie to speake vnto Aristogiton?

In prison is the best place possible, where to see continuall and thesame hainous malefactours.

¶ The argument of his frendes he did moste finely wrest to the contrarie of their menyng: signifiyng that he would not go thither to be a supporter or bearer of a commen malefactour, but to take the fruicion of his iustely deserued calamitee.

7. The Atheniens being sore moued with the Byzancians, for that thesame woulde not receiue one Charetes, whom thesaied Atheniens had sent with an armie for aide and defense of their citee against Philippus king of Macedonie, when Phocion hadde saied that there was no cause why to take displeasure with their frendes for hauing soche mistruste, but rather with the Capitaines that were men not to be trusted, he was chosen

Byzantium, a citie of *Thracia* nigh to the seas side, firste edified & builded by *Pansanias* Capitaine or king of the *Lacedemonians* & afterwarde enlarged by *Constantinus*

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chosen Capitaine himselfe. And the Byzancians putting their affiaunce in him, he brought to passe that Phillippus departed thence as wise as he came without his purpose.

Emperour of the *Romaines*, & made the hed citee of al the empire, & named *Constantinopolis*, whiche name of *Constantinoble* it obteineth & keepeth yet still vnto this day, it was also called *noua roma*, new *Rome*.

¶ The mistrustfulnesse of the *Bizancians* he layed on the necke of the *Charetes* the Capitain, who was soche maner a man, that it semed an vnsure thinge for the saied people to committe theimselfes to his protection. To mistrust an vntrustie persone is a poinct of wisedom: but to put theimselfes into the handes of *Phocion* beyng a man of honest estimation and credit, thei made no maner sticking nor no bones at all.

To mistrust an vntrustie persone, is a point of wisedome. 8.

Alexander kyng of the Macedonians, had sent an hundred talentes vnto Phocion in the waie of a reward. But Phocion demaunded of them which brought the money how it happened, that, wher there wer Atheniens many mo then he, Alexander would sende soche a rewarde to hym alone. The messagers in this wise answering, Because he iudgeth thee alone emong them al to be an honest and a good man, Wel (quoth Phocion) then let him suffre me bothe so to be reputed, and also to bee soche an one in deede.

Phocion refused a great somme of money sente vnto him in rewarde by *Alexander*.

¶ Howe proprely he tooke their reason out of their mouthes, and applied thesame to an occasion of the refusing the gifte. Now, what man maye in this matter any other then meruail at the sinceritee of an herte which could not be corrupted? *Phocion* was a man in pouertee, and yet was hee nothyng at all moued with the greatnesse of the rewarde. And all vnder one did he notifie, that soche persones as hauing the conueighaunce and administracion of the commenweale, doen yet for all that not holde their handes from takynge rewardes, neyther been good men, nor ought to be accoumpted for any soche.

Those persones through whose handes thadministracion of the commonweale doth passe be naught if thei take rewardes.

When Alexander made instaunce to haue certain 9.

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What counsail *Phocion* gaue to the *Athenians*, consulting whether thei should sende to *Alexander* any Galies or not.

tain galies founde vnto him by the Atheniens at their coste and charge, & the people cried earnestly for Phocion by name to apere, that he might declare what aduise and counsaill he would geue: he arising vp out of his place, saied: Then, myne aduise & counsaill is, that either ye suppresse with weapen soche persones as ben of power to ouermatche you and to hold you in subiection, or els shewe amitee and frendship towardes thesame.

The stronger must be obeied & haue his wil.

¶ At few wordes he gaue counsaill that nothing was to be denied vnto *Alexander* on their behalf, onlesse thei had assured trust and confidence, if he would take peper in the nose, or stiere coles, to wrynge hym to the wurse with dynte of sworde. Wherin if *Alexander* seemed the stronger of bothe, that then it was no prouoking of the youngman beeyng all herte, and one that to dye for it could not abyde to haue any naye in his requestes.

Alexander could in nowyse abide to haue any nay in his requestes

10. There was a brute and rumour noysed (of *whose bringing vp no man could tel) that Alexander was deceassed. Anone out sterten the Oratours, exhorting the Atheniens to make no ferther delaie ne tariaunce but incontinent with all haste to beginne warre. But Phocion willed theim, not be ouer hasty vntil some more certain knowlage might be had. For, (saith he) if Alexander be dedde this daie, he wilbe dedde the morowe too, and the next daye also.

What *Phocion* saied when the Oratours of *Athenes* gaue them counsaill to make warre vpon a rumour of the death of *Alexander*.

¶ He grauely restreigned and staied the heddie vndiscretenesse of the Oratours.

* *Plutarchus* in the life of *Phocion* saieth, that one *Asclepiades* was the first that tolde the newes of the death of *Alexander* in *Athenes*. Unto whome *Demades* an Oratour saied, that ther was no credence to be geuen, allegeing that it could none otherwyse bee, but all the whole vniuersall worlde to be replenished and stuffed with the odour of soche a dede body euen the first daye, if it had been true that *Alexander* was dedde.

When

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When * Leosthenes had perswaded the citee of Athenes to make warre beeyng set agog to thinke all the worlde otemele, and to imagin the recouering of an high name of freedome and of principalitee or soueraintee, Phocion affirmed his woordes to be sembleable vnto Cypres trees, the whiche although they bee of a great heighte, and goodly to beholde, yet haue no fruite ne goodnesse on theim. II.

The wordes of *Leosthenes* *Phocion* likekened to a *Cypres* tree goodly to se to, but in deede vnfruitefull.

¶ Nothing could possible haue been spoken to better purpose of talke that promiseth many gaye good morowes, and maketh ioylye royall warantyse of thynges in wordes, but without any effecte or comming to passe of deedes, euen sembleably as the cypres tree † shoting vp into the aier with a toppe of a great highthe, and growing sharpe with a bushe great beneth and smal aboue of a trimme facion, semeth a ferre of to make assured warauntise of some especiall gaye thing, and yet in deede there is almoste no tree more barren.

Uneth any tree more goodly to beholde afarre of, then the cypres tree, nor indeede more barren.

* *Leosthenes* was a man at this time, of great autoritee and estimacion in *Athenes*, who woulde not reste prouoking the people to make warre vpon the residue of Grece, vntill he had brought theim in minde so to doe. And himselfe was Capitain in thesame warre, and fought a great fielde against *Antipater* and the *Beocians*, and the *Atheniens* woonne the fielde. But *Leosthenes* was slaine in that battree. And wher as the *Atheniens* mynding to continue warre and perceiuing *Phocion* to be altogether against it, had deuised a wyle to haue one *Antiphilus* succede *Leosthenes*, and to put *Phocion* by lest he would turne the warre into peace, *Phocion* commaunded by proclamacion that as many as were betwene the age of sixtene yeres and seuentie, should out of hande geate theim to their horse and harnesse, and prouiding theimselfes vitailles for fiue dayes to come and folowe him. This the people cried out vpon, & they that were by reason of yeares impotent or vnhable or otherwyse by the lawe discharged of goyng to warre, grutched at soche an vnreasonable proclamacion. To whome *Phocion* thus aunswered: Why what wrong doe I vnto you, sens that I must goe foorth with you my selfe beeyng lxxx. yeares olde? But thus at the last he abated their haste towardes warre, and quieted the citee to keepe theimselues at home in reste and peace. This annotacion may serue for the perfecte elucidation of the xvii. *apophthegme*.

† The *Cypres* tree (saieth *Plinius* in the .xxxiii. chapiter of the xvi. volume) is elfishe and frowarde to spring vp, of a fruite that may well be spared, of beries euilfauouredly wythered and shronken, of leafe bittur of sauour rammyshe, and not so moche as for geuing shadowe to bee loued or set by, of boughes, branches and leaues no more but here and there one in maner euen like a litle thinne shrubbe, &c.

But

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12. But when the first beginning of thesame war had happelie fortuned (☞ For as is aboue noted, thei wonne the first field, & vanquished the *Beocians*, and put *Antipater* to flight) and the citee for the prosperous tidinges therof gaue laude and thankes to the Goddes with Sacrifice * and high solemnitee, Phocion beyng demaunded whether he would not with his good wil haue had thesame thinges so doen saied, Yes verely, my will was neuer other but to haue all executed and doen euen as it hath been nowe, but that notwithstanding I am yet styll of this mynde, that I would the other waye had been decreed.

The constancie of *Phocion* in not repentinge his good counsayll geuen, though the contrary happened well and luckely.

¶ Mening, that thinges also without all wysdome or good aduyse purposed, haue at manye tymes prosperous and lucky happe, and that, as often as thesame doeth so chaunce, the partes of men is, to reioyce in the behalfe of the commen weale, but yet that men ought not for anye soche respect or cause, not to purpose euermore the best and take the best wayes. Yea and parauenture this ranne in *Phocions* hedde, that men ought not euen at the first choppe to put assured truste and confidence in the luckie chaunces that happen at the first beginning of thynges, but that the later ende of all the whole matter must be it that shall declare of what sorte the first attemting and appointement of thesame entreprise was.

Thinges vndiscretely purposed, doen many times succede well, but yet the beste wayes are euer more to bee taken.

Not the beginning of things but the last end muste declare, whether thesame was well attempted or not.

* Immediatly vpon the hauing foorthe of the armie (saieth *Plutarchus*) thei had a faire daie vpon their enemies, and the *Beocians* ioyning with them in battaill wer discomfeicted, and *Antipater* put to flight, and chaced into *Lamia* (☞ a toune in Greece) and there pended vp. This same good fortune in the firste beginning, sette the citee of *Athenes* in greate pride, being inflated and puffed vp with no lesse hope then ioyfulnesse. Whereupon wer made plaies for a triumphe, almoste in euery corner throughout the citee, and no temple ne chapell voide of processions, and thankesgiuing to the goddes whiche had shewed soche propice, fauoure and goodnesse towardes theim. And euen emiddes all this glye, the reporte goethe, that many persones (from whom *Phocion* as touching battaill to be made had dissented) demaunded of *Phocion* in the waie of contumelie and despite, whether he would in his herte these thinges not to haue chaunced, to whom he thus shaped his aunswer. Nay verayly not so, and yet doe I nothing repente my first aduise & counsail. Thus ferre *Plutarchus*. He was (saieth *Valerius maximus*) so stedfast a defender of his constancie that in open audience of the people he affirmed hym selfe

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selfe in deede to be very ioyous of their prosperous good procedinges, but yet that notwithstanding his first aduise and counsail to had been moche better. For he would not graunte that to be naught, for thesame that he had afore right well seen and perceiued to be best, he would not afterward graunte to be naught, because thei had had good happe and fortune in that, whiche an other body had naughtyly counsaylled and persuaded theim vnto, as one that estemed more happye lucke in that that thei had doen, but more wisedome in that that he had counsailled. For veray chaunce doeth oftentimes helpe temeritee, when it sheweth tendre fauour to wrong counsaill, and doeth more desperatly shewe furtheraunce, to the ende that it may more vehementlie hurte afterwarde.

When the *Macedonians had by forceable entreaunce broken into the countree of Attica, and destroyed the sea costes of thesame round aboute, Phocion tooke forth with him a coumpaignie of younge men beeyng in their best luste and age, of whom sondrye persones hastyly approching vnto him, and like as if thei had ben capitaines geuing him counsaill that hee should by preuencion geat to a certain hillocke, ☞ that was euen there in sight of the *Macedonians*, & should in thesame pitche his campe, ☞ & ther set his footemen: othersome affirming to bee best that he should sodainly enuiron the saied *Macedonians* with his horsemen: and other some taking vppon theim to teache him to sette vp on his enemies, one out of one place, another out of another place and one this waye, and another that waye, Oh God Hercules (quoth Phocion) what a mainy of capitaines I see here, and good souldiours woondreous fewe. 13.

* Read of this in the *apophthegme* & note next afore goynge. And of thesame matter read in the xvii. *apophthegme* of this *Phocion*.

This is added out of *Plutarchus* in the life of *Phocion*.

Many capitaines, and fewe good soldiours quoth *Phocion*.

¶ Noting the vnaduisednesse and vndiscrete facion of young folkes, whiche was so prest to take in hande to leade and teache the capitain, where as the duetie and part of a souldiour is not to bee a buisie geuer of counsaill, but when the case requireth, lustily to bestiere him about his buisinesse. Yet neuerthelesse battail ioyned, he wonne the victorie, and ouercame *Nicion* the capitain of the *Macedonians*. But ere long time after, the *Atheniens* being clene ouercomed & subdued, were driuen to take a garison of *Antipater* ☞ to be ouer theim in the castle of their citee.

The duetie and parte of a good souldiour.

The *Atheniens* in conclusion ouercomed by *Antipater*, and kepte by his garrison.

When Menyllus the capitain of the garrison, woulde 14.

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Menyllus Capitain of *Antipater* his garrison in *Athenes*

Phocion refused to take money of *Menyllus* his gifte.

This is touched afore in the 8. *Apophthegme.*

woulde ☞ (for loue and good wille) haue geuen Phocion money, Phocion takynge great indignacion and foule skorne at the matter, saied, that neither he the said Menyllus was better man then Alexander, & the cause to take any reward or gift of money now was worse then at that time when he refused to take money sent vnto him by Alexander.

¶ O an herte that could not bee coniured ne bought with money.

15. Antipater would many times saie, that whereas he had two frendes in Athenes, he coulde neuer in all his lyue perswade Phocion to take any money or other thing of his gifte, nor neuer fille Demades with geuing.

Antipater could neuer persuade *Phocion* to take any money, nor fill *Demades* with giuing.

¶ This same was *Demades* the oratour who was excellent and passing good in making an oration, or setting out of a tale without any study or vnprouided, where as *Demosthenes* made none oracions but diligently penned afore.

Demades had no feloe in making an oracion without studie, wheras *Demosthenes* penned all his matters afore.

16. Unto Antipater requiring hym to dooe for his sake some thing whatsoeuer it was not standing with iustice, he saied: O Antipater thou cannest not haue of Phocion a frende and a flatterer both together.

How *Phocion* made aunswer to *Antipater* requiring him to do a certain thing contrary to iustice.

¶ A frende is at commaundement so ferre as conscience and honestee will suffre, and no ferther. For in deede one frende ought in no wyse to require of another frende a thing that is vniust. But as for a flaterer, he is a readie and a seruiceable paige for whatsoeuer a body will haue him doe.

One frend ought not to require any vniust thing of an other.

17. When the people of Athenes were importune that Phocion should take an armie with hym into Beotia, and Phocion iudged in his mynde that so doing would be nothinge for the profite of the commen weale, he made a proclamacion, that

For ferther declaracion herof reade the annotacion of

that as many as were in the citee betwene sixteen yeares of age and sixtie, should be in a readinesse and come foloe him. The aged men in this case criyng out against him, and allegeyng for their excuse that they wer impotent and feble for age, Why (quoth Phocion) there is none vnreasonable thing conteined in my proclamacion, sens that I my selfe doe make ready to goe forth with them as their capitain being .lxxx. yeres of age.

the xi. *Apophthegme* of this *Phocion.*

How *Phocion* staied the *Athenians* being in a sodain pangue to continue warres with the *Beocians.*

¶ By this subtile meanes he appeaced & cooled the sodain heate of the commens.

After the death of Antipater, the commenweale of the Atheniens beyng come again to soche state that the people *rewled, and wer euery man like maister, Phocion was at a commen assemblee condemned to die. And so it was that his other ☞ frendes whiche had been condemned to death together with him at thesame time, went piteously wepyng and making lamentacion when they were led to prieson, but Phocion went as stil as a lambe not speaking a woorde. But one of his enemies meeting with him in the streete, after manie despiteous and railling wordes, spette in his face. Then Phocion looking backe vpon the officers, saied: Will no man chastice this feloe here vncomely demeaninge himselfe?

18.

Phocion beyng innocente, condemned to death by the people of *Athenes.*

The pacience of *Phocion.*

¶ This moste vertuous and godly man euen when there was with him none other way but death, had care of the publique good ordre to be kept. He made no complainte of that so hainous a touch of vilanie, neither did he require auengement against the partie who contrarie to the lawes was eagre to shew crueltee vnto a cast man: he onely willed the euil exaumple, that was contrary to good mannier and behaueour

Phocion when he was cast to die yet had care of good ordre to bee kepte in the citee.

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haueour to bee repressed: and to that horrible cruell dede he gaue no worse name but vncomely demeanure.

*The Philosophiers that doen write of politique gouernaunce describen the state of commenweales to haue been diuerse in diuerse places. Somewhere, kinges gouerned, as in *Persia* and in Rome at the beginning, and now in Englande, whiche was called *Monarchia*, & this state all wryters doen agree vpon to be the best. Some commenweales haue been gouerned by a certain noumbre of magistrates and counsailours, as in Rome, from the exterminacion of kinges vntill the tyme of *Iulius Caesar*, and at this present daye in Uenece, and this was called *Oligachia*, or *Aristocratia*. Somewhere all the people ruled and were echeman of eguall autoritee, as in *Athenes* vntill they were yoked by the xxx. tyrannes, and afterwarde conquered and subdued by *Philippus*, and after him holden in subiection by *Alexander*, after him by *Antipater*, after whose deceasse thei obteined again their first state, which was called *Democratia*. And this was of all other the worst, as here may ryght well appere, for the people beyng sembleable to a monstreous beaste of many hedes did thinges heddily without due counsaill, aduise, deliberation, discretion or reason, as the *Atheniens* beyng in furious ragies moste wrongfully put to death many innocent persones, highe clerkes and noble counsaillours, as afore is noted in the v. *apophthegme* of this same *Phocion*.

☞ With *Phocion* were condemned to death *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Rithocles*. And besides these were condemned being absent *Demetrius*, *Phalereus*, *Callimedon*, *Charicles* and sondrie persones mo.

19. Howe *Phocion* comforted *Thudippus* being out of pacience when he should dye.

Of those persones whiche were to suffre death with Phocion, one man especially emong all the others, being woondrefull impacient bewailled his mishappe whom Phocion coumforted after this sorte: Is it not enough for thee O Edippus (or as some readen Thudippus) to dye in compaignie with Phocion.

It maie be a comforte for an innocent wrongfully to suffer with innocentes.

¶ *Phocion* was doen to death, not onely beyng without gilt but also beyng one that had doen highly well for the commenweale. It ought therefore to haue been estemed a great comfort and reioycing for the partie beyng innocente, wrongfully to be put to death with soche an innocent and good man as *Phocion* was.

20. Of the maner of putting condemned persons to deth in *Athenes*, read

At his laste houre, when the bruage of wyne and the iuice of hemlocke tempreed together was brought vnto hym, one demaunded of him whether he were disposed any thing to saie vnto his sonne, (for thesame was there present:) Dere sonne

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sonne (quoth Phocion) I both streightly charge and commaunde thee, and also right hertely desire and praie thee, neuer to beare towardes the Atheniens any grutch or malice for the remembreaunce of this matter.

afore in the annotacion of the 54. *Apophthegme* of *Socrates.*

What *Phocion* saied to his son at the houre of his death.

¶ To other persones when they suffre execution the chief comfort, that thei commenly haue, is the hope of their death to be afterward auenged: but *Phocion* did al that in him laye to prouide that the sonne shoulde not reuenge the wrongful murdreing of his own father, and was more desirous that thesame should beare tendre zeale and affection toward his countree, then toward his parente.

The entier zele and affeccion of *Phocion* toward his countree.

21.

Unto Nicocles making instaunt request for licence to suppe of his part of the poison before that Phocion should, Well (quoth Phocion) though this bee an hard thing to obtein and moche against my stomake, yet must it nedes be graunted vnto that man whom I neuer saied naye of any thing in al my life time.

Phocion loued and fauoured *Nicocles* singularrlie well.

¶ *Phocion* had euermore borne singuler loue and affection towardes *Nicocles* the moste feythfull and truest herted man emong all the frendes he had, and for that consideracion it would haue ben a great grief to the herte of *Nicocles* to see the other passyng out of this world. Which grief to auoyde, he desired to drinke first himselfe. And in this thyng also did *Phocion* shewe pleasure to his frende.

Nicocles the moste trustie frende that *Phocion* had.

22.

When all the cast men sauing he alone had dronken, and onely Phocion was remayning vnserued by reason that the poysoning had been al consumed by the others, the hangman saied plainly and swore that he would not serue hym excepte there wer laied doun in his hand .xii. good drachmes ☞ (litle vnder vi. s. sterlyng,) for an ounce of hemlocke iuice (he saied) would coste not

The price of an ounce of Hemlocke iuice in *Athenes*

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What *Phocion* saied when the hangman would not minister the poison vnto him without money.

not a ferthing lesse. Phocion therfore to thende that his death might not be delaied or slacked through the feloes brableing, to one of his frendes purposely called, thus he spoke. For as moche as it is so (saied he) that in the citee of Athenes a man can not die neither but he must paie for it, I beseche you hartely, paie the hangman here his askyng.

How *Phocion* rebuked *Demosthenes* castyng forth many railyng wordes against *Alexander*.

23. When Demosthenes was busie casting out many bloudy wordes against Alexander being now at the veray point to winne & entre the citee of Thebes, Phocion tooke him vp with this greke verse of Homere, out of the first booke of his werke entituled Odyssea.

σχέτλιε, τίπτ' ἐθέλεις ἐριθίζεμεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα;

O weked creature, what phansie hast thou,
Soche a sower feloe, to prouoke now?

¶ *The saiynges of Marcus Tullius Cicero.*

Of *Marcus Tullius Cicero* to speake as his worthinesse requireth, were to write an infinite volume couched and replenished with whole heapes of laudes and prayses. But for this present purpose and place it shal be enough to saie, that he lyneally descended from the house of *Tullius* an auncient kyng of the *Volstes*. But (as the world and all thinges are full of chaunges) so in long processe of yeres the ioylitee of that bloud and name fell to decaye and to ignobilitee. Albeit euen in the time of *Cicero* the *Tullies* remained in the degree and acceptacion of gentlemen, and *Cicero* euen at his firste comming to Rome, enioyed the degree of a gentleman, and like as he was vnder the estate of the Senatours whiche were lordes, so was he aboue the condicion and degree of the yeomanrie or comenaltie, his father was called *Tullius*, a man of no great name nor porte, his mothers name *Olbia* a ryche woman. He was borne in a toune of the *Volstes* called *Arpinum*, (free of Rome to enioye all maner fraunchesses, libertees, priuileges, and offices in thesame). Neuerthelesse all soche persones as neuer had their parentes dwelling at Roome, ne bearyng any magistrate or office there, were called, *Noui homines*, new men, that

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that is to saye, come of straungiers & men vnknowen to beare autoritee and rule in the citee. *Tullius* was at last the father of all eloquence, a greate writer of bookes in all kindes, and a man (as *Plinius* of him sayeth) for witte and eloquence out of all comparison, he gotte vp by litle and litle to beare offices in Rome euen to the veray Consulship, and that with as moche honour, autoritee, glorie, and renoume as euer man did, in so moch that he was the first that euer was called in Rome, *parens patriae*, the father of his countree, that is to saye, the onely sauer and keper of the countree. Neuerthelesse, was he at length and his house in despite, beaten and throwen down to the hard ground, but at last he was fette home againe of their owne accorde, and receiued with soche honour as neuer was any man there before or sence, and hadde a newe house builded for hym at the charges of the citee twys so good and double so fayre, as his owne was afore. In fine he was by the permission & suffreaunce of *Augustus Caesar* with all vilanie possible slain at the commaundement of *Marcus Antonius* his enemie, who caused his right hande with whiche he had wryten to be strieken of, and his toung to be cut out of his head with which he had made many noble oracions before the Senate & people of Rome. And after that the saied *Antonius* had had his hedde presented in a dyshe at his table, and had saciated his moste cruell iyes with the contemplacion of it, he caused the-same for extreme contumelie and despite to be nailed vp in the place that was called *Rostra*, where *Tullius* had before that time pronounced many a sore inuectiue against him.

MArcus Tullius, (for as moche as he was moche iested on for the surname of * Cicero) being warned by his frendes to chose and take vnto him some other surname, answered that he would ere he died make the name of Cicero more noble and famous, then was the name either of the † Catons, or of the Catules, or els of the ‡ Scaures.

I. *Marcus Tullius* moche iested at for the surname of *Cicero*.

What *Tullius* saied when his frendes aduised him to take sum other surname instede of *Cicero*.

¶ For these houses were of especiall fame and renoume emong the Romains, wher as *Tullius* was a man but newly come to Rome, and as yet vnknowen there. And as for the surname was a readie thyng to to be iested at, because it appered to haue been deriued of the moste vyle Poultz called *Cicer*. Yea iwysse, as though the familie of those Romaines whiche wer called *Fabii*, semed not to haue had that surname first of Benes (whiche are in latine called *Fabae*) and they that were called *Lentuli*, to haue been surnamed of an other Poultz which the latine men do

The houses of the *Catons Catules* and the *Scaures* were of great renoume in Rome.

The surnames of those which wer called *Fabii* & *Lentuli*, wherof thei came vp.

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Of slendre nobilitee is that man, who hath nothing but the petigree of his auncestours and his surname.

cal, *Lentem*. But to this present purpose, of slendre nobilitee & renoume is that manne, whiche hath none other poinct of nobilitee in hym besides the lineall descent of his auncestours and his surname. The moste honorable kynde of nobilitee is that which euery man doeth purchace to himself by his own propre vertues and good qualitees. Neither proued *Marcus Tullius* a false man of his worde, for the name of *Cicero* is at this present daye more commen in eche mans mouthe, then are thre hundred soch as the *Catules*, and the *Scaures* with all their garlandes, their images of honour & their petigrees.

The most laudable nobilitee is that which euery man achiueth by his own propre vertues.

* As touching the surname of *Cicero*, it is to be noted, that this *Marcus Tullius*, right well knowing his owne petigree and auncestrie, resumed the surname of the stocke, from whiche he was descended. For the firste *Tullius* was surnamed *Cicero*, of a little piece of fleshe growing in the side of his nose, like to a cicer, whiche is a little pultz, moche like to a pease, some there been that call it the Fatche, but I doubt whether truely or not. But in the time of old antiquitee, a common thing it was, that families wer surnamed of diuerse soche thinges (saieth *Plinius* in the third chapiter of the 18 booke) as the familie of those, whiche wer in Roome called *Pilumni*, was first surnamed of the inuenting of *Pilum*, whiche is a pestell, soche as thinges are braied withall in a mortare, and in olde time thei hadde none other waie to grinde their corne. Also *Pisones* wer surnamed, *a pisendo*, of grinding with a querle, because it was their inuencion. Those also (saieth he) whiche wer called *Fabii*, *Lentuli*, & *Cicerones* had their surnames at the first of soche thinges in the sowing and housebandrie, whereof thei excelled others.

† For the renome of the *Catons*, of the *Catules*, and the *Scaures*, & of their families in the histories of *Titus Liuius*, *Florus*, *Plutarchus*, and *Valerius Maximus*. For some more light to be geuen to this present place, as touching *Cato* the first, I haue thought good to set the woordes of *Plinius* in the 27 chapiter of the 7. boke. In other kindes of vertues saieth many persones haue many sondrie waies excelled. But *Cato* the firste of the hous, that was called in Roome *Gens portia*, hath been thought to haue in most high degree, to haue performed and shewed the moste high thinges that maie bee in any mortall creature, being the beste oratour that euer was before his time, the best capitain of an armie, and the best Senatour. And as for this was in a *Cato* alone, and neuer in any man els that he was vpon accusacions 44. times, brought to his aunswer before iudges at the barre, and neuer any man moo times arrained, & yet euer quite. For this *Cato* because he was a graue and a sage father, and a continuall enemie and pursuer of all vice, he had the hatered of many persones, who of malice wrought to bring him to confusion, but his innocencie euermore deliuered him. From this *Cato* lineally descended *Cato Vticensis*, a verie noble man also, as is afore in the saiynges of *Augustus*, largelie mencioned and noted.

‡ Of *Quintus Lactatius Catulus*, it is written in the Chronicles of Rome that in the first warre that the Romaines made against the *Cartaginiens*, he with a nauie of .iii. c. shippes, made vi. c. shippes of theirs couche, and toke their vitailles and other lading, and the chief capitain of thesame *Himilcon*. But the memorie of these

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these mennes actes is now cleane extincted, the memorie of *Cicero* by reason of his moste noble bokes is immortall, and shall neuer die while the worlde shall stande. Of whom *Plinius* in the 30 chapiter of the 7. volume, emong many high praises mo saieth in this wise: All haill *Cicero* the firste man that euer was called *parens patriae*, the father of our countree, & the first man that euer deserued a triumphe, and neuer diddest on harnesse for the matter, and yet diddest as worthelie deserue to haue the garland of a triumpher for thy toung, as euer had any other befor for the swearde. ☞ Whiche he speaketh of the suppressing of the sedicious coniuracion of *Catiline*, whom *Cicero* did peacablie destroie and put to death with all his complices & adherentes, without bloudshed of any of the true citezens.) All haill the parente and chief founder of all eloquence of the Latine toung, and (as *Iulius Caesar* the *Dictatour*, sometime thy greate enemie hath left in writing of thee) one that had achiued a garlande of triumphe, so ferre surmounting the garlandes of all other mennes triumphes, as it is more highlie to be estemed to haue so highlie auaunced and extended throughout all partes of the worlde the boundes and limites of the wit, which the Romaines haue, then of their Empire.

‡ *Marcus Aemilius Scaurus*, in the time of his Consulshippe, passing by chaunce along by *Publius Decius* then chief Iustice, when he sawe thesame Iustice not to doe his duetie of obeisaunce, commaunded thesame to arise from the benche, and then did *Scaurus* cutte the garment of *Decius* (whiche was as greate a dishonour and ignomie, as if a chiefe Iustice should haue his coif rolled from his hedde here in Englande, and be disauctorised or deposed from his office) he cutte the benche that *Decius* had sitten on, in token of his deposicion or depriuacion, and proclaimed that no persone should any more resorte vnto thesame *Decius* for iustice. Also, being Consull he triumphed of the *Legures* and the *Gantiskes*. And at other seasons did many noble actes, bothe of buildinges & otherwise. He was of so high aucthoritee in Roome, that of his owne hed, without any other bodies counsaill, he set *Opius* in harnesse against *Gracchus*, and set *Marius* to warre against *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*. In his old age he was accused and appealed by *Varius* one of the *Tribunes* for the people, that he had enforced the frendes of the Romaines, and all the countree of *Latium* to battaile, for aunswere to whiche complainte and accusacion, thus he saied openly vnto the people: Masters all, *Varius* saieth *Aemilius Scaurus* enforced and droue soche as are in League with this citee to harnesse and weapen, and *Scaurus* saieth it was nothing so, to whether of the twoo doe ye geue credence? Upon these wordes was he dimissed.

2. *Marcus Tullius* would not forsake the surname of *Cicero*.

When he offred a siluer bolle to the goddes, he had his * forename, and his name stamped and set out in plain letters, but for his surname, Cicero, he engraued the figure & proporcion of a cicer.

¶ Not shrinking an ynche for the interpretacion of capcious bourders.

* The Romaines for the moste part, especiallie soche as wer of any nobilitee and renoume, had three names, the first was called *Praenomen*, the forename, as *Marcus*, whiche we doe call the christian name: the second was called *nomen*, the name, as *Tullius*, whiche was the commen name of the house stocke or familie that they were descended of, and this we call our surname, because we haue not the thyrde in vse, (except it should be called our sire name that is to saye the name of our fathers bloud and auncestrie.) The thirde was geuen vpon some other externall chaunce, cause or consideracion, as *Cicero*, and sembleably in others.

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3. Clamourous & brallyng Oratours *Cicero* likened vnto lame creples.

Suche oratours or aduocates as in vttring their matter, or in making their plea dooen vse to crie out as if they were in a mylne or in a roode lofte, Cicero auouched to be sembleable vnto lame creples, for that suche maner oratours sembleably had all their refuge vnto soche clamourous, yalling, as lame bodies to their horses.

¶ Yea & euen at this present daye, a rief thyng it is to see feloes enough of the selfsame suite, which as often as thei see theim selfes to haue the worse ende of the staffe in their cause, doen make their recourse wholly vnto furious brallyng, to thende that where they are not of facultee and cunnyng with good argumentes & profound reasons to make their matter good, they may with malaperte facing and with feare, by hooke or crooke drieue it to their purpose.

4. Howe *Cicero* taunted *Verres* laiyng to his charge vnchast liuyng.

When *Verres, who had a sonne viciously mispending the floure of his youth railled on Cicero vnder the name of a sinnefull abuser of his body in abominacion, Thou art ignoraunt (quoth Cicero) that a man ought to chyde his children secretly within doores.

Parentes ought to rebuke their children secretly within their houses.

¶ Signifiyng that woorde of reproche not to take place in him, but in the sonne of the fault finder or quereler. And in deede to parentes it apperteineth to blame or chyde their chyldren, but yet not without the circuite of their owne houses, neither ought thesame woordes of rebuke to be notified foorth of doores. But that persone doeth no lesse then publyshe it abrode, who laieth to others abrode, that thyng whiche his children doe perpetrate at home in his owne hous.

* *Verres*, a gentleman of Rome who beeynge *Praetor* in *Sicilie* did moche pillage and extorcion there. Whereupon he was accused, and brought to his aunswer in Rome. *Cicero* made and pronounced against him certain inuectiues, and in theim so layed to his charge, and brought in witnesse vpon thesame, that *Verres* was condemned in a great summe of a rierage. And not many yeares after, he was cast in a forfaicte of all his goodes and landes by *Marcus Antonius*, vpon none other cause ne grounde (saieth *Plinius*) but for that on a time bragging and cocking with *Antonius*, he craked and made vaunte that he would droppe plate of *Corinthe* metalle with him ounce for ounce and not be one piece behinde hym.

Unto

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5.

How *Cicero* answered *Metellus* laiynge to his charge that he had been the death of mo men by his euidence geuing, then he had saued by pleading for theim.

Unto Metellus laiyng to the charge of Cicero, that thesame had been the death of mo persones by geuing euidence against theim, then euer he had saued by pleadyng for them, Yea marie (quoth Cicero) for I haue in me more truth of my worde in bearing witnesse, then I haue of eloquence to persuade.

¶ With a meruaillous wittie braine did he wrest the other parties woorde of reproche to his owne laude and prayse. For in a geuer of euidence truthe is to be regarded, in an aduocate or attourney, eloquence it is that doeth most auaile.

6.

How *Cicero* answered *Metellus* demaunding, who was his father.

It is afore noted that the father of *Cicero* was of no name.

The mother of *Metellus* vnchast of her body.

Metellus light & inconstant.

Eftsons to thesame Metellus demaunding of Cicero who was his father (as casting him in the teethe with the bassenes of his birthe) he saied: Thy mother is in the cause that a right hard thing it is to make a direct answer vnto this question of thine.

¶ For the mother of *Metellus* hadde a name that she was no veray good woman of her body. Yea and *Metellus* himself being of his mothers condicions was veray * light and mutable, and one that could none other but folowe euery sodain guerie or pangue that shotte in his braine. *Cicero* chaunged the contumelie from the father to the mother. For then is the father vncertain to be knowen, when the mother kepeth not herselfe to one sole manne.

* *Metellus* was so shuttle brained that euen in the middes of his tribuneship he left his office in Rome, and sailled to *Pompeius* into *Syria*, & by then he had ben with him in a whyle, came flynging home to Rome again as wyse as a capon.

7.

Diodorus alias Diodotus maister vnto *Metellus* in rhetorike.

What *Cicero* saied when *Metellus* had

When thesame Metellus after the deceasse of Diodorus (whom he hadde to his maister in rhetorike) had sette for a memoriall vpon the toumbe of thesame a crowe of stone, Cicero saied: Truely he is rewarded according to his desertes. For he hath taught Metellus to flygh and not to make oracions.

¶ Noting

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sette vpon the toumbe of *Diodorus* a crowe of stone.

¶ Noting the lightnesse and inconstancie of *Metellus*. The crowe is a birde that hath none other musike, nor can none other songe ne tune but ka, ka.

☞ *Plutarchus* calleth the Rhetorician *Philagres*, and saieth that the toumbe was of marble, & that *Metellus* caused the crowe to be grauen in the marble stone, whiche thing in deede is the more likely.

8. What *Cicero* saied when one had told newes that *Vatinius* was dedde, and afterwarde the thing was found otherwise.

Marcus Tullius had heard saie that Vatinius (a mortall foo of his, and besides that of himselfe, a persone full of mischief) was dedde, shortly after when he had heard contrary worde againe, that thesame was aliue and merie: Eiuill chieuing come to him (saied Tullius) that euill lied.

¶ Signifiyng that *Vatinius* was vnworthy any longer to liue. In deede euery lye is euill, but this lye was double euil, because it hadde brought honest men into a fooles paradise. Yet neuerthelesse the saiyng was doubtfull, as the whiche might haue been spoken of soche a persone also, whom a body would not with his good will haue had dedde.

☞ As if some light feloe should bryng vs newes that some one of our kynne, or of our dere frendes, or some learned man were departed this worlde, and thesame newes were afterward founde vntrue, we myght and would geue him Christes curse that had made soche an euill lye to put vs in discoumforte and heauinesse. And in this poincte of speakyng, ambiguouslye resteth the wittynesse of the *apophthegme*.

9. *Plutarchus* nameth this man *Octauius*.

Thuse in *Lybia* was to haue their eares bored full of holes, for to hang ringes and precious Stones thereat.

When Marcus Tullius was makyng an oracion on a tyme, and a certaine persone supposed of all men to bee borne in Lybia, spake in this maner, I heare not this tale, (meaning by thesame wordes, that he did no poinct lyke the matter whiche the Oratour treated of.) And yet (quoth Cicero) ye haue holes plentieth in your eares.

¶ For the nacion of a custome had their eares bored full of holes, to hange therat rynges & precious stones, whiche we nowe a dayes doe weare about our necke, or on our fyngers. And howe soche holes are made, *Celsus* doeth teache. One

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One Caius Popilius (who would in any wyse seeme to be an expert lawier, where as in deede he was but a boungleer and a veray asse in knowlage of the lawe) beyng on a time called foorth to geue euidence in a certain matter of trauerse, aunswered, that he knewe nothing in the matter, nor nothing could say. Yea (quoth Cicero) ye think perchaunce that ye are nowe asked a question of some poincte of the lawe.

10. How *Cicero* mocked one *Popilius* bearing the countenaunce of a good lawier, wheras in deede he had no sight in it. Albeit *Plutarchus* in the life of *Cicero*, nameth this man

Hortensius the Oratour, had receiued of Verres an image of Sphinx all of clene siluer in part of a reward to defend his cause against Cicero ☞ (at what time he was accused as aforesayed). And when the same Hortensius vpon a certain poincte somewhat coulourably aferre of and mistically vttreed by Cicero, had thus saied: I haue not learned to soyle no riedles I, he saied againe: And yet hast thou Sphinx dwelling at home in thy house with thee.

11. *Cotta* in the *Apophthegmes*, C. *Popilius*. *Plutarchus* in the life of *Cicero* saieth, that this *Sphinx* was all of cleane luerie He maie well soile ridles (saieth *Tullius*) that hath *Sphinx* dwelling at home in his hous with him. Of this read afore at large in the fiftie *Apophthegme* of *Diogenes*.

¶ The fable of the monstre *Sphinx* is well knowen, whiche with condicions of prices and rewardes did put foorth riedles to men, and of soche persones as coulde not soyle theim the rewarde was death.

When he met one Voconius by chaunce in the strete with his three doughters, beeyng notable foule & euil fauoured beastes, he recited to his frendes softely this little verse of Greke.

12. What *Cicero* saied, when he mette one *Voconius*, & his three foule doughters.

Φοίβου ποτ' οὐκ ἰῶντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα.

In the despite of Phebus clene,
This feloe begotte his children.

¶ Mening, that *Voconius* of likelihood went about the getting of children vtterlye against the wil, mynde and disposition of *Apollo*: either because *Apollo* is of the poetes feigned to be amiable and all full of beautie, or els for that the folkes thynken children begotten towardes

Children begotten towardes the Sunne arising, are conceiued more perfecte of

limme, shape & fauour.

towardes the sonne arising, to be conceiued more perfecte of fourme, shape, lymme, and fauour.

The Sunne seeth all thynges, saieth the Prouerbe.

☞ Or els for that *Cicero* thought in his merie conceipte, that forasmuch as according to the prouerbe, *Sol omnia videt ac reuelat*, the sunne seeth all thinges and disoueareth all thinges, and bringeth all to light, except *Phebus* (which is the sonne) had oughed *Voconius* a shame, he would neuer haue suffreed him to begette soche foule babies and oule faced doudes as all the worlde should afterward wondre at.

13. At what tyme Faustus Sylla (the sonne of Sylla the dictatour) for to discharge the greate debte that he was in, had made an inuentorie of all his mouables to set foorth thesame to sale: Yea marie [quoth Cicero] this proscription I doe moche better allowe, then the proscription that your father vsed to make.

Of the double significacion of this worde *proscribere*, it is afore declared.

¶ He made a mery ieste of the double signification of this woorde, proscription. For thinges are said proprely in latine, *proscribi*, which are at an open prayssing sette to out vent or sale, and men also are saied in latine, *proscribi*, that are proclaimed traitours to be slaine of any man that will doe it whersoeuer they be found, after which cruell forme and sorte *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* the father had proscribed no small noumbre of the citezens of Rome in the tyme of his dictature.

Of *Sylla* it is largely noted afore in sondrie *Apophthegmes* of *Iulius Caesar* & of *Pompeius*.

What *Cicero* said, when *Caesar* & *Pompeius* wer fallen at strife. Of the variance betwene *Iulius Caesar* and *Pompeius* it is afore mencioned in their *apophthegmes*.

14. Pompeius and Cæsar beeyng fallen at debate and variunce, Cicero saied Whom to eschewe I knowe veray well, but whom to ensue I cannot tell.

¶ Mening that both the said parties tooke the sweorde in hand, not for the libertee or freedome of the commenweale, but whether of them two should haue the soueraintee.

Cicero blamed *Pompeius* for departing awaye out of Rome.

15. He found a great faulte with Pompeius for that thesame had abandoned the citee and had in that his doyng folowed ☞ Themistocles rather

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rather then Pericles, seing that the cases of Themistocles and Pompeius were nothing like at all, & the cases of Pericles & Pompeius muche-what of a rate in all behalfes. For Themistocles fledde vnto the Persians, and Pericles remained still resyaunt in Athenes.

☞ *Themistocles* a man of great rule and autoritee in *Athenes* (as is afore noted) was at last banyshed his countree, and pursued in soche wyse, that he was constreined to take refuge vnto *Xerxes* king of the *Persias*, against whom he had afore kept battail, with whom at last he grewe so ferre in fauour & credite, that *Xerxes* made him high capitain of his armie against the *Atheniens*. But *Themistocles*, when he sawe his countremen, toke remorse of conscience, and because he would neither deceiue the king whiche had put him in trust nor yet be the destroier of his owne countree, poysoned himselfe with drynkyng the bloud of a bulle. *Themistocles* was a man of no eloquence, fauour nor maiestee. But *Pericles* was a man beautiful, passing eloquent, wyse, politike, in high estimacion & autoritee emong the *Atheniens*, in so moche that he gouerned and ruled the commenweale of *Athenes* by the space of xl. yeres with al mens fauour, beneuolence and supportacion. And in like case was *Pompeius* in the citee of Rome, so that his case was more like vnto the case of *Pericles* then of *Themistocles*. And in deede (as *Cicero* by the testimonie of *Plutarchus* writeth) *Pompeius* his cause stoode more with the commenweale then *Caesars*, and all the auncient, graue, wyse and good men fauoured *Pompeius*, and drewe to him as *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Lentulus*, and soche others mo.

When he was come to Pompeius, and repented his foly of coming, beyng asked the question wher he had left Piso his sonne in lawe: Marie (quoth he) with your father in law. 16.

What *Cicero* said to *Pompeius* demaundyng where he had left *Piso* his sonne in lawe.

¶ Speakyng by *Iulius Caesar*, *Cicero* euen like as though he had had halfe a rebuke, for that he had separated and deuided himself from *Piso*, who had married his doughter, gaue *Pompeius* again taunt pour taunt, for that the same kept warre against his own father in law, whose doughter he had maried.

Piso married the doughter of *Cicero*, and toke parte with *Caesar*. *Pompeius* had maried the doughter of *Caesar*, and yet warred aginst him.

When a certain persone hauyng ren awaie from Cæsar to Pompeius saied, that for greate desire to make hast, he had lefte his horse behinde him in Cæsars campe, Marie (quoth Cicero) then haste thou dooen better by thy horse, then by thy self. 17.

¶ Esteming that the feloe should haue doen moche better, if himself had taried still with *Caesar* to.

To

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18. To a feloe bringyng tidynges that Cæsars frendes wer all sadde, and in their dumpes. That is euen as moche (quoth Cicero) as to saie, that thei thinke a mischief on hym.

Plutarchus saith that one *Lentulus* tolde these newes.

¶ He mocked the flatering bringing of newes, as though *Caesars* mennes hartes were in their heles, and thei sore afeard of *Pompeius.*

19. After the battaill foughten in Pharsalia, when Pompeius was fled, one Nonius said, there wer seuen Eagles yet left, and therefore encouraged the soldiours to be of good chere, and to take their hartes to them. Thy chering wer very good O Nonius (said Cicero) if our warre should be against Iaies.

Of this battaille is aboue mencioned in the saiynges of *Caesar* and *Pompeius.*

What *Cicero* saied when one *Nonius* would with .7. Eagles crie a new field against *Caesar* at *Pharsalium.*

¶ But *Nonius*, when he saied Eagles, spake of the Romaines baners or standardes, whiche had euermore the picture of an eagle displaied on them.

☞ The meaning of *Cicero* was, that for their 7. eagles *Caesar* who had alreadie vanquished them, and against whom thei had to fight the new felde had ten, and that he had in his armie no dastardes, but expert soldiours, yea, and better men of their handes, then *Pompeius* had any. In deede a Iaie is nothing in the talauntes of an Eagle, but an Eagle to an Eagle is a full matche, tenne Eagles to seuen, is an ouermatche.

20. When Cæsar being lorde of all, had with moche honour set vp in their places again, the images of Pompeius, whiche some bodie had in despite cast doun, Cicero said Cæsar, while he restoreth the images of Pompeius to their old places, doeth sette vp and stablishe his owne sure for euer.

What *Cicero* said when *Caesar* set vp again the Images of *Pompeius* i n their places.

¶ Doyng to wete, that *Caesar* did not thesame for any fauor, that his harte did beare towarde *Pompeius*, but to the ende that by the colourable semblaunce of mercifulnesse, hymself might purchace fauour emong the citezens, and by soche meanes might establish his own reigne & dominacion the longer to endure.

So

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So carefull was Marcus Tullius to tell his tale after a good & perfect sort, & wold bestow so thoughtfull studie on soch a matter ☞ that no woorde might bee placed out of square, that where he had an oracion to make, before the benche of Iudges, whiche wer called * Centumuiri, and the daie was come euen at hand, he made free one Erote a bondman of his, for onely bringing hym tidynges, that the sittyng was adiourned, & put of one daie ferther then had been appoincted at the first. 21.

The carefulnes of *Marcus Tullius* and studie that no woorde in his Oracion might be amisse or out of frame.

Eros a bondman of *Cicero*, vpon what cause he was made free.

* The people of Roome were diuided into 35. Tribes, as the citee of London is into 25 wardes. Out of euery Tribe wer elected from tyme to tyme, as cause required, 3. men to assemble for iudging in speciall causes of controuersie betwene partie and partie. Their iudgementes and sittinges wer called *centumuiralia iudicia*, the iudgementes of the C persones. And the Benche self, though thei wer an hundred and fiue persones in all, yet were thei of the greater and the more worthie nomber called *centumuiri*, and not *centum quinque viri*.

¶ This historie also hath some bodie put in emonges the *Apophthegmes*, whereas in deede it is none.

☞ And yet (as I haue afore noted any facte or example, that maie be to vs an honeste lesson or instruccion (though it contein no woorde at all) maie worthely be estemed to haue the strength, name & place of an *Apophthegme*. And soche good examples doeth not *Plutarchus* refuse, ne abhorre to put in emong his *apophthegmes*, as namely this present historie of *Cicero* his facion. And would Christe our grene preachers now of daies, whiche haue neither shame ne feare, to steppe into pulpites, ere thei can well construe the Gospell or Epistle, whiche thei boldely take vpon them to preach, wer of *Cicero* his modestie and carefulnesse in this behalfe.

At his arriuall into the campe of Pompeius, vnto soche as saied, Ah Cicero, ye are come tardy. No neuer a whit tardy (quoth he again) for I se nothing here yet in a redines. 22.

¶ He alluded to soche as come late to a dinner or supper. The mirthe of the saiyng to come tardie, is grounded vpon the double meaning of the word tardie, for thei come tardie, that come late to the beginning, and thei come tardie, that come when all is past and doen.

When Pompeius had admitted a certain Galle free citezen of Rome, because thesame had forsaken 23.

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Howe *Cicero* taunted *Pompeius*, for making a *Gall* free citezen of *Rome*.

saken Cæsar, for to come and to bee on his side. A gaie feloe in deede (quoth Cicero) to promise aliens the citee of other menne, whereas he is not hable to restore vnto vs our proper owne.

24. Howe *Cicero* was begiled, to leaue *Caesar* & cleue to *Pompeius*.

After the victorie and conquest of Cæsar, Cicero beeyng asked the question, how he had so ferre missed the cushin in chosyng of partes, saied: In faithe the girdyng of their gounes deceiued me.

Caesar went in his goune wantonlie girte aboute him.

¶ Meanyng hymself neuer to had trusted that the victorie would haue gone on soche a nice and effeminate persones side. For *Caesar* vsed to go after soch sort girded in his goune that he would go (euen as wanton or volupteous feloes doen) trailling after him the skirtes of his goune, al pounced in cuttes and iagges. Wherefore *Sylla* would many a time and ofte, giue *Pompeius* warnyng to beware of the bodie, that went so lewdely girte.

With what woordes *Sylla* would often times, warne *Pompeius* to beware of *Caesar*.

25. How *Cicero* answered one *Damasippus*, praising his wine of xl. yeres olde.

Thesame Cicero beyng at supper with one Damasippus, when the maister of the feast had set vpon the table wine that was but easie and soso, & minding to praise thesame vnto his geastes, of the oldnesse of it, saied, Maisters drinke ye well of this wine, for it is .xl. yeres olde: By my faithe (quoth Cicero) it beareth the age right well.

¶ After soche forme of wordes doe we vse to speake of a manne whose beautie and strengthe, age doeth not verie moche abate nor breake. But it was a fond thing semblably to commende wine for beyng toto old.

The wine *Falernum*.

☞ This wine was called *vinum Falernum*, of *Falernus*, an hill in *Campania*, where it was made. This wine *Falernum* (saith *Plinius*) was estemed emong all wines, the seconde in dignitee. Thesame neither being very newe, nor on the other side verie old, was thought wholsome for a mannes bodie, but beyng of a meane age (whiche meane age beginneth from .xv. yeres, and so vpwarde, vntil he be sowre, as I think *Damasippus* his wine was) and then it is ouer old, so that when *Cicero* affirmed it to beare

The wine *Falernum* if it bee either to newe or to old, is not holsome for mannes bodie.

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beare it age wel, he meaned that it was sterke soure, and that the sowrenesse declared it to be ouer olde, though *Damasippus* had saied neuer a worde. And where in a man to beare his age faire is an high grace, so wine to beare the age well (by an ironie) signifieth thesame to be souer and sterke naughte. Albeeit *Plinius* maketh mencion of wines of twoo hundred yeres old.

Wine of .ii. C. yeres old *Plin.* xiiii. C. iiii.

When he sawe on a tyme Lentulus his doughters housband, being a man of a verie lowe stature, girte with a veraie longe sweorde by his side, he saied: Who hath tied my sonne in lawe to a sweorde?

26. When *Piso* was ded, *Cicero* maried his doughter to *Lentulus*. Who hath tied my soonne in law to a sweord quoth *Cicero*.

¶ For the man semed to bee bounde to the sweorde, aud not the sweorde to the man.

When he had espied in the Prouince of Asia (where his brother Quintus Cicero had before that time been gouernor) the image of thesame Quintus made with his terget (as the facion then was) from the middle vpward, moche greater then the verie true proporcion of his bodie was in deede, Whough [saieth he] halfe my brothers bodie is more then the whole. For the said Quintus was but a little pretie bodie of stature.

27. *Quintus Cicero* the brother of *Marcus Cicero*. The one halfe of my brother is more then al his whole body saied *Cicero*. *Quintus Cicero* a little manne of stature.

Where Tullia the doughter of Cicero went with a more stieryng and faste passe, then was comely for a woman, and contrary wise Piso his sonne in lawe, with a more slowe and still passe then beseemed a man to do, he rebuked them bothe at ones with one saiyng, when he spake to his doughter in this maner, her housebande Piso beyng present: For shame vse in your goyng soche a passe, as your housebande doeth.

28. How *Cicero* with one saiyng rebuked his doughter for goyng to faste, & *Piso* for going to softe.

Upon Vatinius [who was Consull but a verie shorte tyme] he iested in this wise. In the yere of Vatinius there befelle a greate woonder, that while he was Consull, there was no winter, ne springtime, no Somer, ne Haruest.

29. While *Vatinius* was *Consull*, there was neither winter, nespring tyme, ne Somer, ne harueste.

¶ For

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¶ For by these fower seasons, the whole yere is deuided, of which seasons euery one conteineth the complete terme of three monethes. I can not certainly tell whether this be not thesame thing that *Pollio* otherwise rehearseth in the Chronicle of *Marinus* the tyranne, where he saieth thus. The *Consull* that had been *Consull* no more but sixe houres, beginnyng aboute the middes of the daie, was euill araied with *Cicero* his iesting. We haue had a *Consull* (saieth he) of soche seueritie and so rigourous, that duryng his office, no man made so moche as one diner, no man ones supped, no man slept a winke. Except percase this historie seme rather to pertein to *Caninius Reuilus*.

Pollio wrote Chronicles in Greke.

In the tyme of one *Consull*, no man dined, supped, ne slepte.

Caninius Reuilus was *Consull* no more but .vi. houres. Reade the 31. *Apophthegme*.

30. Eftsones to Vatinius making a querele that Cicero had disdeined to come and visite him whyle he laye sicke ☞ of the goute & could not stiere: Forsouth (quoth Cicero) I was minded and on my waye to come to you in your consulship, but the night tooke me ☞ (ere I could reache to your hous.)

Of *Vatinius* being diseased of the goute, it is afore mencioned in the 29. *Apophthegme* of *Augustus Caesar*.

¶ This might well seeme a repaiyng home again of a mocke. For Vatinius afore that time vnto Cicero gloriyng and bragguing that the commenweale had called him home again from banishmente, and had brought him home againe on their shoulders, had geuen a curst mocke saiyng: Howe then hast thou come by the swelling or broken veines in thy legges?

How *Vatinius* mocked *Cicero*, gloriyng of his reuocacion from banishement.

¶ For the maladie of swellyng or broken veines (whiche is in latine called *Varices*) are wont to fall in the legges not of persones sitting at their ease, but of men long standing or els traueilyng on the waye.

31. Caninius Reuilus, was Consul no more but onely one daie. This Caninius when he had gon vp into the place called Rostra (where oracions were

Caninius Reuilus was *Consul* ne more but one daie.

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were made to the people) he in one houre bothe entreed the dignitee of Consulship, and also committed periurie, on whom goeth about this saiynge of Cicero, Caninius the Consul is λογοθεώρητος that is, a wel aduised speaker: On thesame Caninius he cast out this saiyng to, Reuilus hath had this one chaunce aboue all other men that the recordes were serched in the time of whiche Consuls he was Consul.

Of *Rostra* is afore noted. *Reuilus* is one houre entered the dignitee of Consulship and committed periurie.

The recordes wer serched said *Cicero:* in the time of whiche *Consuls Reuilus* was *Consull.*

¶ For the noumbre of the yeres was wonte in Rome to be rekened and set out by the names of the Consuls, ☞ (as here in Englande wee reken the tyme by the yeres of eche kinges reigne.) But nowe *Reuilus* for his parte bothe was Consull, and yet had neuer a yere at al to reken by. And this saiyng also had *Cicero* on thesame *Caninius.* We haue a good vigilaunt Consul as the whiche neuer slept one wynke duryng the tyme of his Consulship.

The yeres wer rekened in *Rome* by the names of the *Consuls.*

Reuilus a vigilaunte *Consull,* for he neuer slepte winke in hisConsulship.

What meanes *Caesar* vsed to establishe his power in the citee of Rome.

☞ *Plutarchus* in the life of *Iulius Caesar,* telleth that thesame *Caesar* when all the ciuill warres were ones ended, and all thinges brought to some staie of quietnesse, left nothing vndooen that might purchace vnto him beneuolence, fauour, autoritee, power & rule emong the Romaines. To his olde enemies he shewed notable mercifulnesse, to his frendes great bountie. He would often tymes kepe open housholde, he woulde diuerse tymes diuide wheate to the commens house by house. He was ful of geuing landes, fees, and rewardes. To soche as would be suiters vnto him to haue this or that office, dignitee, or worship of the citee, he would readily make promisse and graunte of their peticions, & serue their turnes in deede as soone as the time would suffre him, in so moche, that *Maximus* the Counsull beyng deceassed, although there was but one sole daye to come of his yere to be completed, yet did *Caesar* declare and create *Caninius Rebulus* (who is here called *Reuilus*) Consul. To whom where many of the nobles resorted in the waye of gratulacion, and of keping him coumpaignie, *Cicero* saied: My lordes, leat vs make speede, that wee may come to my lorde before the time of Consulship bee expired.

32. Caius Cæsar had electted into the senate many persones vnworthy to be of that ordre and degree, and emong all other one Laberius of a gentleman of Rome became a commen gester. And as this Laberius passed by Marcus Tullius in

Of this *Laberius* is afore mencioned in the 17. *Apophthegme* of *Iulius Caesar.*

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in the Senate house seeking a place to sitte in, I woulde take you in here (quoth Cicero) & make you roume here besides me, but that I sitte in so narrowe a roume my selfe.

¶ All vnder one bothe reiecting the partie, and also making a ieste at the newe coumpaignie of Senatours, the numbre of whom *Caesar* had encreaced more then lawfull was. And yet was Laberius euen with him for it wel enough againe ere he went, thus saiyng vnto Cicero, I meruaill, if thou sitte in a narrow roume, whiche art wont to sitte in two seates at ones.

How *Laberius* paied *Cicero* home againe with a ieste.

¶ Laiyng to his charge lightenesse and ficlenesse, that beeyng a slipper man to trust vnto, he would be hanging nowe of one side, nowe of another.

The lightnesse and inconstancie of *Cicero*.

☞ For in deede *Cicero* was moche noted of inconstancie, he was ones of great amitee and frendship with *Clodius*, afterward his mortall enemie, and likewyse with *Dolobella*, with *M. Crassus*, & with diuerse others. Sembleably he was now frende to *Pompeius*, anon he repented thesame and wyshed that he had folowed *Caesar*, and that so manifestly, that (as *Plutarchus* testifieth) *Pompeius* well perceiuing thesame, neuer would ne durst put him in trust with any matter of great weight or importaunce.

33. Thesame Cicero being hertely desired by his hoste Publius Manlius, with speede to helpe his wiues sonne to the office of a peticaptainship, made this answer (a great coumpaignie of the citezens standing thick about him) If it shalbe in the power & autoritee of Pompeius to call a Counsaill, it wilbe no light matter.

Publius Manlius the hoste of *Cicero*.

Iulius Caesar would for euery mannes pleasure, and for euery light matter cal a Senate.

¶ Noting the facilitee of *Caesar* in assembleing the Senate. ☞ For euery mans pleasure, and for euery light matter.

34. Being saluted of a certain Laodician named Andro, when he had demaunded the cause of his comming, and had well perceiued that thesame was come as an ambassadour vnto Cæsar for the libertee of his countree of Laodicia, Cicero expressed in Greke wordes the publique seruitude, in

Laodicia a noble citee in *Asia*, nigh vnto the floud *Lycus*, and thereof *Laodicenus*, a man of *Laodicia*.

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in this maner: ἐὰν ἐπιτύχῃς καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν πρέσβευσον, If ye spede well, and obteine your purpose, bee an Ambassadour for vs of Rome here also.

How *Cicero* expressed the publike seruitude vnder *Caesar*.

☞ This latin worde, *quoque*, is a coniunction & souneth in Englishe (also) *Cocus* is in Latin for a Cooke, & the vocatiue case of it, is *Coce*. 35. And so it was that a certain persone standing in eleccion for a publique office in Rome, (who was verely supposed to haue come of a Cooke to his father) desired of an other man in the presence of Cicero to haue his voice, to whom Cicero thus saied in latine: *Ego quoque tibi fauebo.*

Ego quoque tibi fauebo.

☞ Whiche woordes might bee taken twoo maner wayes, the one, I wyll be thy frende with my voyce to, thou Cooke: the other, And I also wilbee thy frende with my voyce.

Quoque the coniunction, & *coce* the vocatiue of *cocus*, souned bothe like in *Cicero* his time.

¶ Wherof it is gathered that *Coce* the vocatiue of *Cocus*, and *quoque* the coniunction wer in the time of *Cicero* either of one and the selfesame soune in pronunciacion, or els veray like.

When the accuser of Milo, by the argument or presumpcion of the time of the day, prouing and concluding thesame * Milo to had purposely lien in awaite for Clodius, at euery other woorde demaunded what time or season of the daie Clodius was slain, Cicero made aunswer thus: Veray late. 36.

Howe *Cicero* aunswered the accuser of *Milo*, demaunding at what time *Clodius* was slain.

¶ Signifiyng by that woorde late, beeyng a worde of double vnderstandinge that it shoulde haue been for the profite of the commen weale, if *Clodius* had been slaine moche sooner.

* *Clodius* a Romain of noble birth, but a very vicious persone and voide of all grace. He was a sworne enemy vnto *Cicero*, and in his tribuneship founde meanes and brought to passe that *Cicero* was banished from Rome, wherfore *Cicero* neuer could fauour him after, and at length procured that *Milo* should set vpon him on the high waye, & slea him, whiche was doen, and *Milo* banyshed for the death of *Clodius*, notwithstanding the defense of *Cicero*, and all the frendship besides that he could make.

☞ It might haue been vnderstanded also, that the deede was doen veray late towardes the euening.

Tidinges being reported that Vatinius was deceassed, where the firste bringer vp of that bruite 37.

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What *Cicero* said when vncertaine newes were told of the death of *Vatinius*.

was not certainly knowen, Well (quoth Cicero) yet will I take the auauntage of it whyle I may.

¶ Mening that he would take ioye of the death of *Vatinius* while he might, though it were but for a time, sembleably as one that hath borowed money applieth it to his owne vse and commoditee, and hath his own full pleasure of it for the time, euen as though it were his propre owne.

☞ So that *Cicero* mened to take as moche goodnesse of the newes in the meane time till the contrarie wer certainly knowen, as if thei wer true in very deede.

38. Marcus Cælius more effectuously laiyng crymes to mens charges, then defending thesame, he auouched to haue a good right hande, and an euill left hande.

What *Cicero* saied of *Marcus Caelius*, who could better lai to mennes charges, then defende theim.

¶ Alluding hereunto that at suche time as we fight, in the right hand we holde our sweorde, and in the left hande our bucler. With the sweorde we laye on, with the bucler we beare of.

☞ *Marcus Caelius* an Oratour of excellent witte, & of singular eloquence, to whom *Cicero* writeth many epistles, & *Caelius* many to him again so purely wel endited, that *Cicero* thought theim worthie to be put in emong his owne epistles, whiche honour he geueth but vnto fewe persones, and *Cicero* in his epistles familiare, is not ashamed to confesse himselfe to be inferiour to *Caelius* in witte and faceciousnesse.

39. Iubius Curtius liyng like a dogge of the yeres of his age, to the ende that he myght be thought yonger then he was in deede, Cicero thus proued a lyer: Why (saieth he) then at what season you and I were young schollars first, and exercised making of oracions together, ye were not borne.

Howe *Cicero* proued *Iubius Curtius* a lier.

40. Unto Fabia Dolobella saiyng herself to be thirtie yeres of age, It is true, quoth Cicero, for thesame haue I heard euery daye these twentie yeres already.

Howe *Cicero* mocked *Fabia Dolobella*, dissembling her age.

¶ Her

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¶ Her desire was to be thought younger then she was in deede. Therfore *Cicero* mocked her to the harde teeth with sembleyng that he graunted her saiyng, and neuertheleſse signifiyng that she was fiftie yeres olde.

To soch as made it a matter of reproche that being a man of thre score yeres of age he had married a young * damyselle beyng a maide: Well (quoth he) to morowe she shalbe a woman. 41. How *Cicero* auoyded the reproche of marriyng a young maide in his olde age.

¶ Declaring by a mery worde that same reproche to bee a thyng that woulde with a trice be washed away, for the next morow folowing it could not be obiected vnto him, that he had a maide to his wyfe.

* *Cicero* being an aged man diuorced his wife *Terentia*, with whom he had liued many yeres. The causes of deuorcement wer these. That she had so slendrely regarded him, that when he should take his iourney toward warfare, he was drieuen to go very barely prouided of all maner necessarie prouision. Besides this, after that he was returned home again from thence into Italie, he founde his wife coumbresome, crabbed and snappishe vnto him. Item whereas he made long abode at *Brundusium*, herself would not take peines to come thither to him, and yet when his doughter *Tulliola* should take her iourney thither, *Terentia* let her goe with a verie slendre porcion of money towardes her charges. Ouer and besides all this, she had let his hous fall sore in decaye, and had made the walles of it bare, and brought it sore behinde hande in debte. All these articles *Terentia* denied, but *Cicero* with a long oration proued euery one of theim to be true. Within fewe dayes after, he maried a young gierle being rauyshed with her beautie (as *Terentia* affirmed) but (as *Tiro* his late seruaunt auouched) to thentent that he might be hable to paie and discharge his debte. For the maiden had a greate dourie and was a very riche marriage. Not long after this newe marriage the doughter of *Cicero* died, for whom he toke wondrefull sorow. And because his young wife seemed to be glad of the death of *Tulliola*, *Cicero* forsoke her to, and put her away from him by diuorce.

Thesame Cicero in this maner pleasauntly iested on Curio (who at no tyme would faile to begin the preamble of any oracion making of his old age) that he affirmed the same to haue the promes of his Oracions, euery one daie more easie and lighte to make then other. 42. Howe *Cicero* mocked *Curio* beginning his orations alwaies of his age.

¶ By reason of age growing euery daye more and more vpon hym.

Yet ones again for a cast more at Vatinius (who although he wer sore diseased in his feete, and 43.

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Vatinius mocked of *Cicero* for saiing that he had walked a couple of miles.

and vtterly lamed with the goute would nedes yet neuerthelesse appere to be verie well emended, and saied that he was able now to take a walke of a couple of miles at ones. Yea, I thinke wel (quoth Cicero) for the daies ar a good deale longer than thei wer.

It is afore in the .xxx. *Apophthegme* of *Augustus*.

¶ This *apophthegme* doth *Quintilian* attribute vnto *Cicero*, & *Macrobius* vnto *Augustus Cesar*. Ther goeth another tale about at this day also euen as mery as this, sauyng that it hath not semblable antiquitee, ne auncientnesse to commende and set it out withal. A certaine launceknight made his vaunte at a banquette where he was, that he had a crossebowe so good of casting, that it would sende a bolt or a quarrel of soche a fersnes, as no man aliue could beleue or think, and named a certain space. All the compaignie whiche sate at the table criyng foh, at soche a shameful lye, he abode by it that his own seruaunt had seen the thing doen. The seruaunt being called in, How saiest thou sirrha (quoth his maister) diddest not thou see soche a thing, and soche a thing doen? Then saied the seruaunt. Yes sir ye tell a true tale, but at that tyme when ye shot, the winde was with you.

☞ It had been moche merier, if he hadde saied, yes sir your quarell flewe so ferre as ye speake of in deede, but it was at twoo shottes.

44. What *Cicero* saied to *Ouinius* of bruit of *Vatinius* his death.

Ouinius a late seruaunt of *Vatinius*, and by him manuissed.

Cicero after hearing the false rumour that was bruited of the death of Vatinius, when he had enquiered of one Ouinius late seruaunt with thesame, whether all went wel, and the partie aunswered, yea verie well: Why is he dedde in deede then, quoth Cicero?

¶ Signifiyng that all went not right, if *Vatinius* were still aliue.

Thesame

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Thesame Cicero being called forth for a witnesse to geue euidence, when he had read in the bill of complainte, The defendaunte sued by Sextus Annalis, & this accuser still called buisily vpon him in this maner, speak on o Marcus Tullius, if thou canst any thing saie of Sextus Annalis, he begon by and by to recite versis, out of the sixth booke of the werke of Ennius, entitled Annales, in this maner. *Qui potes ingentis causas euoluere belle, &c.* For Ennius wrote in verses a cronicle of actes doen from yere to yere, in ordre as they were doen, and soche are in latine called Annales, ☞ and this latine woorde, *sextus*, souneth in english the sixth. ¶ And the name of the accuser was, *Sextus Annalis*. ☞ A mery conceipt to those that are of capte to take it, sauing that it can not in englishe haue eguall grace with the latine. 45.

Ennius an olde auncient Latin poet, & of great authoritee, whom *Cicero* verie often times citeth in sondrie his werkes.

What diffrence is betwene Histories and Annales, soche as be learned may read in the .18. chapiter of the fiueth booke of *Aulus Gellius*.

An other time also at one Accius beyng a wylie pie and a feloe ful of shiftes, when thesame was suspected in a certain matter, Cicero had a cast with this litle verse of latine out of some olde Poete, *Nisi qua Vlysses rate euasit Laertius.* 46. How *Accius* escaped the daunger of a certaine iudgemente.

That is,

With the selfsame ship and none other thing
Wherewith Vlysses escaped scouryng.

¶ *Vlysses* beyng subtile and craftie, escaped safe with his shippe from bothe *Charybdis & Sylla:* So *Accius* by his wylinesse auoyded & shifted himselfe from the perill of the iudgement.

Of *Sylla & Charibdis*, it is afore noted in the 117. *Apophthegme* of *Diogenes*.

Vlisses the sonne of *Laertes*, whom *Homere* in all places maketh to be wilie, subtile, prouidente and full of all shifte in the worlde possible 47.

Upon an other certain persone, who after being come to a good wyndefal of inheritaunce, was first of all the coumpaignie asked his sentence in a matter of consultacion, whereas before the obteinyng of thesame inheritaunte, he was reputed for the veraiest foole in the worlde, Tullius sembleablably iested, saiyng: *Cuius hereditas quam vocant*

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Who hath landes & goodes enoughe shall sone haue the name of a wise manne.

vocant sapientiam: that is, whose liuelehood whiche they callen wysedome.

¶ In the verse in steede of facilitas, he chaunged it and saied, *hereditas.* For in the Poete the verse is thus written, *Cuius facilitas quam vocant sapientiam:* that is, whose facilitee whiche they callen wisdome. The meaning of *Cicero* was to signifie that landes and goodes had chaunced vnto the partie in steede of wisdome and sapience, and that for the respect of his liuelehod thesame was now estemed and taken for a wise man.

48. ¶ *Seruilia* the mother of *Marcus Brutus*, hadde a doughter called *Iunia Tertia*, which *Iunia Tertia* was wife vnto *Caius Considius.* And *Caesar* the dictatour had bothe the mother & the doughter at his commaundement for his wanton pleasure.

☞ Also this latine woorde *tertia* is the feminine geudre of the nowne numeral, *tertius*, betokening the third in noumbre or in ordre. There is also a verbe, *deducor*, whiche in one signification is to bee rebated out of a noumbre or out of a summe, and in an other signification it is to be conueighed or to be brought as one conueigheth home to his hous or chamber, his wife or paramour. Of *deducor* is deriued a participle *deductus*, *deducta*, *deductum*, conueighed or brought.

What *Cicero* saied when *Seruilia* had purchaced of *Caesar* a riche piece of lande for a little money.

When Seruilia the mother of Marcus Brutus, had for a small deale of money, gotten awaie a riche pece of lande, out of the handes of Cæsar (who made open sale of many of the citezens landes and goodes) Cicero made this iest on it. Yea maisters (quoth he) & that ye maie knowe this piece of lande, to haue been the better cheap purchaced, Seruilia hath bought this lande tertia deducta.

¶ Whiche twoo wordes might twoo maner waies be enterpreted and taken, either the thirde parte of the price abated, by vnderstanding, part, or els *tertia* the woman taken home into his chamber to hym, so that *Cicero* his ieste is grounded on the ambiguous sense of these twoo Latine woordes *tertia deducta.*

☞ And

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☞ And to one that hath a good sight in the latin, the saiyng is pretie.

Thesame Cicero made a pleasaunt riedle, in the way of iest, on the mother of Pletorius (whiche Pletorius accused Fonteius) saiyng, that while she liued, she had a school and taughte: and when she was dedde, she had maisters her self. 49. The riedle of *Cicero* vpon the mother of *Pletorius.*

¶ Notyng that in her life time women of euill name were commen resorters to her hous, and after her death, her gooddes wer preised and openly sold. The tale in apparence bothe is standyng against all naturall reason, and also setteth the carte before the horses. For those persons who haue a schole, been maisters on their parties, and haue scholares vnder their teachyng and gouernaunce. And Maisters are called, not onely soche persones as doen teache, but also those that haue the rewle and ordreyng of others.

He made also a iest on the name of Verres, as though he had been so named of the Latine verbe Verro (whiche is to swepe.) 50. Howe *Cicero* iested on the name of *Verres*

¶ Noting that *Verres* whersoeuer he came, played swepestake, and left nothing behinde hym, as being a taker and a bribing feloe, and one for whom nothing was to hotte nor to heauie. After which sorte of bourdyng, one feloe whatsoeuer he was, minding to signifie that *Cicero* was a briber and a priuie theefe, in steede of *Tullius* called hym *Tollius.* ☞ For *tolle*, is in Latine, to take awaie, as theues and pickers dooe take awaie by enbeslyg. *Tollius* for *Tullius.*

¶ And some there wer that nickenamed an emperor of Rome calling him *Biberius* in steede of *Tiberius.* *Biberius* for *Tiberius.*

For *bibere* is Latine to drinke. And of *Tiberius* the successour of *Augustus* it is written, that in his youthe he was prone to drinking and bolling, in so moche, that in his time was brought vp a newe founde diete, to drinke wine in the morning nexte the harte. And *Drusus* because he loued drinking, was for that by the commen voice of the people saied, to haue regenerate his father *Tiberius*, and made him aliue again. *Tiberius Caesar* in his youth loued drinkyng, and so did *Drusus* after hym.

It

51. It was no rare thing with him to speak of Iulius Cæsar in this maner as foloeth: As often as I consider the wilinesse and ambicion of this manne, liyng hidden vnder the cloke and semblealunce of humanitee and gentlenesse, I am afeard on the behalfe of the commenweale, lest thesame shall haue a tyranne of hym, and againe when I behold his hear hanging doune so nicely and so like a minion, and him self scratting his hed * with one finger, I can scacely thinke in my minde, that euer he will conceiue in his harte, soche an high enterprise.

What *Cicero* said of *Caesar*, clemency and nicitee coupled together.

* *Vno digito caput scalpere*, that is to scrat the hed with one finger was a prouerbiall speakyng, whereby to notifie a wanton felowe, and a persone effeminate, because soche doe take care and feare lest thei ruffle their trimme combed bushe and set some one hear out of order. It is thought that one *Calnus* a poete brought it first vp on *Pompeius*, & from therof the same to haue been taken vp in a prouerbe. And that the saied gesture was in the old tyme, accompted for an argument of vnchastnesse and of nicitee. *Seneca* in his Epistles beareth witnesse: of all thinges (saieth he) if thei be well marked, there been priuie tokens, yea, and of the lest thinges that bee, maie a man gather argumentes and presumpcions of mennes maners & condicions. An vnchast person, or a vicious man of his bodie, both pace of going doeth shewe, and the mouing of his handes and at a time one sole aunswere, and one finger put vp to the hed, & the casting of his iyes, &c.

52. To sondrie men obiecting vnto him that he had taken a great summe of money, of a person endited to be tried by the law, with the which money he should purchace a stately mansion place. I will confesse that I toke soche money in dede of my client [said Cicero] if I buye the hous hereafter. And when he had bought it in deede, to thesame men casting him in the teeth with his liyng, Why (quoth he) do ye not know it to be a point of a good houseband to dissemble, if he haue purposed to buy a thing?

Howe *Cicero* pourged himself of taking money of one of his clientes.

It is a wise point of housebandrie to dissemble, if one go about to bie a thing, for fear lest his bargain should be taken out of his hande.

☞ This historie doth *Aulus Gellius* moche more pleasauntlie, and with more grace tell in the 12. chapiter of the xii. booke. Where he noteth, that when a crime is laied to ones charge, whiche he can by no meanes coulour ne auoide, one poore helpe and one poinct of shifte it is, to make a ieste of it & to turne it (if one maie) to a matter of laughter. This persone accused, *Gellius* nameth *Publius Sylla*, and sheweth that *Cicero* did but borowe the money of hym.

Betwene

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53. Betwene *Cicero* and *Marcus Crassus* the oratour, there was a priuie grutch and malice.

Betwene Cicero and Crassus there was a priuie malice. And so when one of the twoo soonnes of Crassus, being not vnlike of fauour vnto one (whose name was Dignus) and by reason therof, suspicion entred into the heddes of the people, vpon the wife of the said Crassus [that she had had ouermoch familiaritee & companie with thesame Dignus] had made a gaie oracion in the senate hous, Cicero being asked the question, what maner a feloe he that had made the oracion seemed vnto hym, thus made aunswere in Latine. *Dignus Crasso est.*

One of the sonnes of *Marcus Crassus* like of fauour to one *Dignus.*

What *Cicero* saied of one of the soonnes of *Crassus*, hauing made a good oracion in the Senate hous.

¶ Couertly alludyng to the name of *Dignus.* ☞ For of those wordes, *Dignus Crasso*, might indifferentlie be taken, either that he was a young man aunswerable to the eloquence of *Marcus Crassus* his father, or els that he ought of right to be called *Dignus*, though he beare the name that *Crassus* was his father, for *Dignus*, is also latin for worthy.

¶ So that the ieste shall bee moche more pleasaunte, if ye frame the Latine wordes accordyng to the Greke phrase and saie, *Dignus Crassi est.* Understanding that there were in deede twoo of the right and true name of *Dignus*, that is to wete one thadulterer that occupied the wife of *Marcus Crassus*, and the other like of fauour to thesame *Dignus*, though he were called the sonne of *Crassus.*

54. How *Cicero* reproued *Munatius* of ingratitude.

Cicero had been attourney to defend one Munatius, being arrained of a certain crime, & Munatius therby quit. Afterward when thesame Munatius sued one Sabinus a frend of Cicero, to the extremitee of the lawe, Cicero throughly enkendleed in wrathe, vpbraided to Munatius what he had doen for him: Why Munatius (saieth he) diddest thou thy self escape iudgement (when it was) by thine owne meanes, or els by the helpe of me, that did caste a greate miste ouer the benche, where the Iudges sate?

Cicero could cast a mist ouer the seates of Iudgemente.

When

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55. When he had openlie praised Marcus Crassus, in the place that was called Rostra, the people highly well allowing his oracion: and afterward baited the self same man in thesame place with many poinaunt and nipping wordes of reproche, What [quoth Crassus] diddeste not thou in maner euen the last daie praise me, and geue me high commendacion, in this same self place? Yes [quoth Cicero] I praised thee in deede, but it was onely for exercise, to assaie what I could do in a naughtie matter.

Cicero praised *Marcus Crassus* in an oracion, & afterwarde dispraised the same again.

¶ For *Rhetoricians* are wont for exercise, to handle matters inopinable, as for example, when thei make an oracion in the praise of * *Busyris*, or of the Feuer quartane, or when thei praise ingratitude. ☞ So did *Homere* write the battail betwene the Frogges and the Mice. *Erasmus* wrote the praise of foolishnesse, an other the praise of baldenesse, an other of drounkenship: and this last argument, I handled for mine exercise, being a young student, albeit thesame declamacion now lieth all worme eaten, as right worthie it is.

Rhetoricians are wont for exercise to take feigned argumentes of matters inopinable, and soch are properly called declamacions & not oracions.

* *Busyris*, a kyng of *Egypt* for his moste horrible crueltee, detested of all nacions in the worlde. For there came vnto him on a time a sothsaier geuing him counsaill, that if he would auoide sterilitee and barrennesse he should kill vp as many straungers as wer within his realme, which counsaill *Busyris* folowed, and executed, beginning firste of all with the Sothsaier self.

56. When thesame Crassus in an Oracion, whiche he made had saied, that neuer any manne of the name of Crassus had liued in Roome paste the age of .lx. yeres, and then repenting himself of that worde speaking said in this maner, what ailed me to speak soche a woorde as this? Marcus Tullius in this wise sodainly aunswered: Marie thou knewest full well that the Romaines would geue eare to that tale with all their hartes, and by soche a waie art thou come, to beare rewle in the commenweale.

None of al the *Crasses* liued in Rome past the age of .lx. yeres.

¶ Signifiyng twoo thinges, that is to wete, bothe that the name of the *Crasses* was odious vnto the Romains, and also that this *Crassus* had been auaunced

Crassus could curry fauor ioylily, as *Plutarchus* in his life maketh mencion and was a man of greate eloquence.

to

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to honors not by vertue, but by fauour curriyng. ☞ For, when he saied by soche a waie arte thou come, &c. He meaned, by speaking soche thinges as might be delectable and pleasaunt to the eares of the people.

Crassus allegeyng it to bee one posicion or opinion of the Stoikes, that * a good man is he that is riche. Naye (quoth Cicero) see whether this be not rather their opinion, that a wyse man is lorde of all thinges of the worlde in his possession. ¶ Couertly noting the auarice of *Crassus*, to whom nothing was enough. ☞ But al things semed to litle. 57. The exceding auarice of *Crassus*.

* It was an opinion of the *Stoikes*, that good men and vertuous men are ryche, & an other that a sapiente man is lorde of all thinges in the woorlde, because that onely soche persones, are contented with that that thei haue, and if they haue goodes, they can and also doen bestowe it well, and applie it to good vses: if they haue no substaunce, none they care for, but are contented with their vertues and honeste qualitees, as the whiche doe persuade theimselfes, that he can not be poore, who hath the grace of God, and is not couetous. And of this conclusion it is afore mencioned in the .xlviii. *apophthegme* of *Diogenes*. But whereas the position or conclusion of the *Stoikes* mened that no man was riche (though he had millions of talentes) excepte he were a good and a vertuous man withall. *Crassus* (because he was couetous) did interprete and take it to his purpose, that no manne was a good man except he wer riche, so that he would his richesse to be a cloke of goodnesse, of vertue, and of perfect honestee. Therfore *Cicero* mocked him with an other opinion of the *Stoikes*, whiche was, that in a sapiente man all thinges are possessed, whereby *Cicero* by an ironie exhorted *Crassus* to peruerte the sense therof to, as he had doen of the other, and to persuade him selfe, that if he could get all the worlde into his possession, he should be a sapient and a perfect good man. Whereas the mynde of the *Stoikes* was clene contrarie. But *Crassus* was so couetous, that he would oftentimes auouche no man to be worthie the name of a riche man, except he were able with his yerely reuenues to kepe an armie, and to maintein an hoste of men, wherefore when he warred vpon the *Parthians*, and was by thesame taken and slain in that warre, thei cut of his head, and in despite melted gold into his mouth, saiyng these wordes *Aurum sitisti, Aurum bibe*, golde hast thou thirsted, nowe drinke golde enough.

When Crassus was towarde a iourney into Syria, being more desirous to leaue Cicero his frende then his foe, when he should be gon, he saluted Cicero diligently, and said that he would suppe at home with him that night. Whom Cicero with a cherefull and gladde countenaunce receiued and entreteined. Within a fewe daies after this, certain of his frendes went in hand with him, and made meanes vnto him for to be at 58. What *Cicero* saied, when his frendes laboured to bryng him and *Vatinius* at one.

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at one with Vatinius also. Why (quoth Cicero) is Vatinius disposed to haue a supper at my house to?

¶ Signifiyng that thesame *Vatinius* did make meanes more to haue a supper then to haue his frendship.

59. Yet one cast more he hadde at Vatinius, who had a swelling in the throte (whiche is in latine called *strumæ*, ☞ a disease like that is called the kinges euill, if it be not the veray same, when the saied Vatinius made a plea for a client of his in a certain cause. Oh (quoth Tullius) we haue here an Oratour gayly puffed vp. ☞ In the latine it hath a veray good grace. For this worde *Tumidus*, souneth in Englishe swollen, inflated or puffed vp. Whiche termes as well the latine as the Englishe, by translation are referred not onely to swelling in some part of the body, but also in pride, bragguing, and vainglorie.

Cicero called *Vatinius* an oratour gailie puffed vp, because thesame had a swelling in his throte.

¶ As the Oratours *Asiatique* were called, *Tumidi*, swollen, or inflated, ☞ because their sorte and facion of making oracions, was proude, solemne, pompeious, bolde, perte, and replenished with vaunting, bosting, craking, bregguyng, and vaingloriousnesse: As witnesseth *Plutarchus* in the life of *Antonius*. And thereunto did *Cicero* allude.

The pompous maner of the *Asiatiques* in making oracions.

60. Iulius Cæsar had earnestly purposed to distribute the landes of Campania emong his men of armes, This thing both many others in the senate tooke greuouslye, and especially one Lucius Gellius being a man euen with veray age almoste clene dooen, saied and swore, that it should not so be, as long as he liued. Well (quoth Cicero) leat vs tary so long hardily, for it requireth no long delaie.

What *Cicero* saied when *Lucius Gellius* an aged man spake of a thing that it should not be so long as he liued.

¶ Signifiyng that *Gellius* was euen at the last cast, and in maner at deathes doore.

61. When a certain young feloe to whose charge it had been afore times laied, that he had killed his father with a spiececake infected with poyson: when

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when this young feloe being angreed euen at the herte roote thretened in his furie that he would haue a flyng at Cicero with wordes that should soune litle to his honestee, so hadde I rather thou shouldest (quoth Cicero) then with spiece-cakes.

Howe *Cicero* checked a young feloe thretening to reuile hym.

¶ Under that colourable woorde of double interpretacion obiecting vnto the feloe the murdring of his father.

62.

One Publius Sextius had taken Cicero together with certain Aduocates mo to assiste him, and to help defend him in a cause of his. And when thesame Sextius woulde nedes declare his owne matter, and haue all the saiyng his owneself, and would not geue any of his aduocates place or leaue to speake a worde, as sone as the matter was clere and out of parauentures that Sextus should bee quitte and discharged by the iudges. Take the time O Sextus (quoth Cicero) this daie while thou maiest. For to morow thou shalt be a priuate man again.

Howe *Cicero* saied to *Publius Sextus* taking on him to make al his plea him self.

¶ Geuing him halfe a checke for that he had taken vpon him in the matter to doe altogether himself alone at his owne pleasure. ☞ Where as the next daye folowing he shuld haue no publique office of a patrone or Oratour, nor be adhibited to any soche vse, but bee as other men wer, that had nothing to doe with pleading in courtes, as *Cicero* and the other publique oratours had.

63.

When Marcus Appius in the preamble of a certain oration or plea, said that he had been by a frende of his greately desired to vse and to shew all his diligence, eloquence, and fidelitee in his clientes cause, at this worde, spake Cicero and said: and hast thou soche an herte of steele of thine own, that of so many thinges whiche thy frend hath desired thee vnto, thou doest neuer

Howe *Cicero* mocked *Marcus Appius.*

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neuer an one at all? ☞ Mening that in his oracion appered not so moche as any one poincte of diligence, of eloquence, or yet of trustinesse.

64. *Cicero* gaue vnto *Marcus Aquilius* the name of *Adrastus.*

Marcus Aquilius hauing twoo sonnes in lawe, that were housbandes to his two doughters, but bothe of theim banished and exiled, Cicero called Adrastus.

¶ Because that he alone kepte his standing lyke a manne, ☞ and saved himselfe vpright. Alluding to the propre signification of the Greke vocable.

☞ For ἄδραστος signifieth: infected or els, one from whom is no sterting away, nor escaping of a shrewde turne. And therof *Nemesis* (the Goddesse of taking vengeaunce on soche as are proude and disdeignefull in time of their prosperitee) is called in Greke ἀδράστεια, because that no soche persone may escape her handes. Neuerthelesse (vnder the correction of *Erasmus*) I take that *Cicero* alluded to *Adrastus* king of the *Argiues*, who had two doughters, the one called *Deiphile*, & the other called *Argia*. *Deiphile* was married to *Tydeus*, the sonne of *Oeneus* king of *Aetolia* or *Calydonia*, whiche *Tydeus* beeyng a right valiaunt and an hardie man, when he had vnawares slain his brother *Menalippus* at an hunting, fledde from his countree, and came to *Adrastus*, & there married thesaied *Deiphile*, and there liued a banyshed man, and neuer went again into his owne countree as shall appere. The other doughter *Argia*, was married vnto *Polinices* the sonne of *Oedipus* king of *Thebes* and of *Iocasta*, quene of thesame, of whom and of his brother *Eteocles*, (who would not according to his promisse suffre *Polinices* to reigne in *Thebes* by course when his first yere was expired,) it is upon the .l. *apophthegme* of *Diogenes* in the first booke largely noted, and sufficiently for the perfect declaration of this place and purpose that *Polinices* liued and died a banished man. And so it befell that *Tideus* was sent Ambassadour from *Polenices* vnto *Etiocles*, that thesame should remembre his couenaunt and promisse, and according to thesame should surrendre vnto *Polinices* the kingdome of *Thebes* there to reigne by course one full yeare as *Eteocles* had doen. When *Eteocles* had made him a plain resolute aunswer that he would not suffre *Polynices* to reigne ther, *Tideus* sharpely rebuked him of breaking his feithful promis, and spake many high and bolde wordes. Wherat *Eteocles* taking great indignacion, priuely sent fiftie stoute men of armes to lie secretly in a woode and sodainly to kill *Tideus* in his waye homewarde. These men mynding to execute and accomplishe the commaundemente of their lorde, set vpon *Tideus* in thesaide woode, & *Tideus* slewe theim euery mothers sonne except one, whom he saued purposely and sent back to beare tidynges of that feaste vnto *Eteocles*. Then *Adrastus* and *Polinices* made warre on the *Thebanes*. Where *Tideus* after many noble actes of chieualrie at last was slain by one *Menalippus* a *Thebane*, and yet after the receiuing his deathes wounde, he slewe thesame *Menalippus*.

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lippus, and chopped of his hedde and gnawed it in pieces with his teeth. Thus for our present purpose it appeareth that the twoo sonnes in lawe of *Adrastus* were both outlawes, and therefore did *Cicero* geue *Marcus Aquilius* the name of *Adrastus*.

In the time whyle Lucius Cotta was Censour, (who was taken for the greatest swielbolle of wyne in the woorlde one of theim,) where Cicero standing in election for the consulship happened to be very drie, and had drounke a draught of water enuironed and hidden from the Censours sight on euery side with frendes, he saied: Ye doe well to feare lest I should haue the Censour my heauie lord, because I drinke water. 65.

Of the office of *Censour* is afore noted.

Luctus Cotta a gredie drinker of wine.

Cicero drounke water.

¶ *Cicero* made as though he beleued his frendes for this cause to stande thicke about him, that the Censour might not se him drinking water. For like beareth fauour to like. ☞ And vnlike hateth vnlike. So that the Censour being soche a gredie drinker of wyne, if he had seen *Tullius* drinking water, would haue suspected him to doe it in contumelie & reproche of him.

Like beareth fauour to like, and vnlike hateth vnlike.

When Marcus Cælius (who was thought to be discended of father and mother not fre but bonde] had with a loude and a whole voice reade a lettre before the Senate, Cicero saied: Maruaill ye nothing hereat my lordes. For this is one of theim that hath had a good loude breste in his dayes. 66.

What *Cicero* said of *Caelius*, who had a loud voice.

¶ Signifiyng, that *Caelius* had been a commen cryer, and that by long vse it had come vnto him to haue a shrille voice. And in dede bondmen that were to be sould, wer wont to bee made the beste of, by the oyes of the cryer.

Unto one Memmius reproching Cato the Vticensian, and saiyng that he would bee drounke euen whole nightes through, Yea [quoth Cicero] but thou speakest nothinge at all that all the daye time he would be plaiyng at dice. 67.

Howe *Cicero* excused *Cato* for making merie now & then, in the night time.

¶ Manerly

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Cato would bee busie in the day time, and merie in the night.

¶ Manerly excusing *Cato*, who bestowed all the whole daye vpon the affaires of the commonweale, and would take an houre or two or three of the night to take some recreacion of mynde, and to refreshe his spirites. ☞ And in deede it is written of *Cato* that he would now and then be merie and make good chere.

68. What *Cicero* saied to *Iulius Caesar*, defending the doughter of *Nicomedes* kyng of *Bithynia*.

Unto Caius Cæsar earnestly defending the cause of Nicomedes his doughter in the senate hous, and rehersing the benefites & great pleasures of the king towardes him, Cicero saied: No more of this I beseche you, for it is not vnknowen what he gaue to you, and what ye gaue to him.

¶ The pith and grace of the saiyng dependeth of the double sense that might be taken of the woorde *dare*. For in latine he is proprely said, *dare*, to geue, that conferreth a benefite: and also a woman is saied in latine, *dare*, that is gentle and kinde of her fleshe. Wherof the Poete *Martialis* thus writeth to a woman, *vis dare, nec dare vis*, that is, ye will geue and ye will not geue, &c. *Caesar* had an euill name, that when he was in *Bithynia* in his youthe. ☞ at what time he fled from Rome for feare of *Sylla*, whereof is mencioned in the firste *Apophthegme* of thesame *Iulius Caesar*, he was somewhat more at the commaundement of king *Nicomedes*, then the lawes of chastitee do require.

69. Howe *Cicero* defeacted the accusacion of *Marcus Callidus* against *Gallus*.

Marcus Callidius accused Gallus, and Marcus Tullius defended Gallus. And when the accuser affirmed that he would both by witnesses, by Gallus owne handie wrytinges, and also by examinacions confessed afore, make due proufe that there had been vennyme tempreed and made readie in a cuppe for him by the partie arrained: but yet all the while pronounced soche an hainous matter, with an vnearnest countenaunce, with a dedde voice, and with the residue of his iesture, nothing hote nor vehemente, Marcus Tullius

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Tullius saied: O Marcus Callidius, if thou diddest not feine this gear wouldest thou handle thy plea so faintelie?

Faint handling of a plea, argueth the cause to be weake and vntrue.

¶ Gatheryng, of his countenaunce and iesture, that his wordes came not from the harte.

70. How *Cicero* iested on *Isauricus* who had been beaten with whippes of his father afore.

Thesame Cicero after this sort iested on Isauricus: I meruaill what the matter is, that thy father being alwaies one maner a man, hath left thee vnto vs so diuerse.

¶ A mery worde depending of ambiguousnesse of the vocable. For, *Varius*, in latine, and diuerse, in englishe is called one that is of a waueryng mynde and nothing substanciall, he is also called in latine *Varius*, in englishe diuerse, that is marked with the prientes of stripes. And in deede it was commenly noysed that this *Isauricus* had been scourged afore of his father with whyppes. And thereof came thatsame, not the saiyng, but the deede of *Marcus Caelius*, whose chayre of estate when *Isauricus* beeyng Consull had broken, he set vp an other with whippes kerued in it, without any wordes thretenyng thesaied *Isauricus*, and also castyng in his teeth, that he hadde ones been scourged with whippes of his father.

Howe *Marcus Caelius* serued *Isauricus* for throwing doun his chaire.

¶ *The saiynges of Demosthenes*

THE ORATOUR.

Plutarchus and other historiographers dooen wnte that *Demosthenes* had a poor woman to his mother and a woman vnknowen, his father kept a Cutlers shoppe and solde kniues, a good honest man and meetely welthy, as the whiche when he died left vnto his sonne honeste substaunce, but because *Demosthenes* was then but a litle childe, he and his patrimonie was committed to certain executours or feoffers who beguiled *Demosthenes* so ferre, that they neither regarded to sette him to schole, nor while he was at schoole to paie his schoolemaisters duetie. At last he became the most noble Oratour that euer was in Grece. And then tooke in hande to be a doer in the commenweale, and spared not to sette against *Philippus* with moste vehement orations inuectiues, and wore out

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Philippus wel enough, and after him *Alexander*. But *Antipater* sent certain of his garde to slea him. *Demosthenes* hearing thereof fled priuely into a litle Isle named *Calauria*, and there kept himselfe secrete. At last he was founde out. And when he sawe that there was no remedie but that he should be had to *Antipater*, he desired that he might haue licence first to write an epistle to the *Atheniens*. And taking a penne in his hande he begonne his epistle thus: *Demosthenes* to the *Atheniens* greting and well to fare. And euen so brake of writing and receiued poyson whiche he had long time of a purpose kepte vnder the stone of his Ring, and so poisoned him self out of hande. *Plutarchus* ioineth the life of *Demosthenes* and of *Cicero* bothe together, and compareth them twoo together as a verie good matche and well coupled. For (saieth he) when God at the firste beginning, formed *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, bothe after one paterne, he semeth to haue putte and enspired into their natures and disposicions, many like qualitees, as for example, that bothe the one and the other was ambicious, bothe the one and the other a Citezen franke, bolde, & plain in telling his minde to the people, bothe of them to perilles, ieoperdies & warres not verie hardie men. There wer in their fortunes also many thinges commune, as well to the one as to the other. For I can not finde any other twoo oratours, whiche being of sembleable lowe birthe, grewe to bee so greate men of authoritee and dignitee, and whiche durst auenture to withstande kinges and chief gouernours, and lost their doughters, wer banished their countrees, and returned, fette home againe with honour, eftsones voided their citees, came into the handes of their enemies, and finallie, whiche were extincted together, with the libertee of their countree.

I. How *Demosthenes* aunswered *Pytheas* laiyng to his charge that his oracions smelled of the candle.

ONe * Pythias obiected to Demosthenes, that his argumentes of Rhetorike smelled all of the candle: signifiyng, that he pronounced none oracion, but out of writyng, and made with greate studie, by Candle in the night time. Whiche saiyng Demosthenes in soche wise reuersed backe again, that he auouched himself and the other partie, not to be at equall charges for candle.

¶ Noting that the other was a continuall reueller and gourmander by night, and bestowed more money on riotous banquettyng, then he on his behalf did on studie.

* This *Pytheas* was in the time of *Phocion* and *Demosthenes*, a man newly come vp in *Athenes* of late, and by eleccion put in authoritee to haue doing and saiyng in the publique affaires of the citee, partly by giftes and rewardes, and partely by speaking faire vnto the people. And when he was ones gotten vp, to beare some stroke in the citee, he would haue to doe in euery matter, and weaxed a wondrous buisie medler in al causes, insomoche that at commen assembles, he would often times trouble all the whole compainie with his

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his dailie pratleing, vntill *Phocion* at last said: Will this feloe here neuer holde his peace, that came but yersterdaie in maner out of the shel, and one that hath brought the people of *Athenes* to be his owne?

Unto others obiecting vnto him, vnmeasurable affectacion of eloquence, he thus aunswered, the study of eloquence to declare a manne that loueth the people, and can be contented to be feloe like with the people: and contrariwise to neglect the study of eloquence, to be the guise of soche persones, as sought to bee lordes ouer the people, as the whiche went aboute, not to perswade men by fine vtteraunce of a matter, but to compell them parforce. 2. How *Demosthenes* pourged himself of the obieccion of ouermoche study of eloquence.

As often as Phocion should arise to saie his minde in any assemblee, Demosthenes would saie of thesame Phocion to his frendes that sate nexte by hym: Now ariseth vp the axe of al my reasons. 3. *Phocion* the axe of *Demosthenes* his reasons.

¶ For *Phocion* was brief in telling his tale, but sharpe as an axe. And his custome was for the moste parte to be of a contrarie minde and opinion to *Demosthenes*. *Phocion* and *Demosthenes* fewe times agreed.

The people of Athenes importunely required Demosthenes to take vpon hym the accusyng of a certaine persone. And when Demosthenes refused to doe it, the people begun to be vp in a rore against hym (as commenly thei wil in soche a case) then Demosthenes arisyng, spake in this maner: O ye men of Athenes, ye haue of me a faithfull counsailor & helper at al times of nede, whether ye will or not, but a false accuser shall ye neuer haue of me, wold ye neuer so fain. 4. What *Demosthenes* saied when the *Atheniens* earnestlie praied him to accuse a certain persone.

Demosthenes had been one of the tenne whom the Atheniens had sente ambassodors vnto Philippus kyng of Macedonie. So after that Aeschines and Philocrates (which two Philippus had 5. *Demosthenes* one of the ten, whom the *Atheniens*

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sente ambassadours to *Philippus* kyng of *Macedonie.*

had especially aboue the residue, familiarely embraced and made of) being come home again from the said ambassade, gaue the king moche high praise, partly for many other thinges, and especially for these three folowyng, that he was full of fauour and beautie, that he had a goodly eloquent toung, and that he could drink lustily. Demosthenes made this cauillacion that he auouched in all those praises, to be not so moche as one poincte comelie for a king. For the first, he said, belonged to women, the seconde to Sophistes and Rhetoricians, and the thirde to spounges.

Philippus king of *Macedonie,* was beautifull, eloquent, & a good drinker.

To drink wel is a properte mete for a Spounge, but not for a manne.

* This ambassade was at thesame time, when *Demochares* said to *Philippus,* that he might doe to the *Atheniens* moche pleasure, if he would put his necke in an halter, & hang himself, whereof read the .35. *apophtheg.* of thesaied *Philippus.*

6. Demosthenes had written vpon his shilde, in letters of golde ἀγαθὴ τύχη, that is, Good fortune. Yet neuerthelesse, when it was come to handie strokes, †Demosthenes euen at the first meting, cast his shilde and al awaie from him, and to go as fast as his legges might beare him. This poincte being cast in his nose, in the waie of mockage and reproche, that he had in battaill cast awaie his bucler, and taken him to his heeles, like a pretie man, he auoided it with a little verse, commen in euery bodies mouth.

ἀγαθὴ τύχη written aboute *Demosthenes* his bucler in letters of golde.

How *Demosthenes* auoided the reproche of renning awaie in battaill.

‡ ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.
That same man, that renneth awaie,
Maie again fight, an other daie.

Plutarchus saith that *Pitheas* it was which thus mocked *Demosthenes* for his manlie rennyng awaie

¶ Iudgeyng that it is more for the benefite of ones countree to renne awaie in battaill, then to lese his life. For a ded man can fight no more, but who hath saued hymself aliue by rennyng awaie, maie in many battailles mo, dooe good seruice to his countree. ☞ At lest wise, if it be a poinct of good seruice, to renne awaie at all times, when the countree hath moste nede of his helpe to sticke to it.

† This was at the battaill in *Cherronea* (wherof is afore spoken in the 7 *apophthegme* of *Philippus*) in

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whiche battaill he subdued and conquered al *Grece*. And of this battail *Demosthenes* was the chief procurer and setter on, in so moche that he onelie persuaded the *Thebanes* and others thereunto, and was one of the chief ringleders and capitaines himself, in so moch that the king of the *Persians* wrote letters about to his nobles in al places, that thei should aide *Demosthenes* with money enough on al sides, for the suppressing of *Philippus*. The bataill was kepte in *Chreronea* (the countree of *Plutarchus*) at *Thermodon*. Whiche *Thermodon* (as the report goeth saieth *Plutarchus*) should bee a little pretie floud renning into the riuer of *Cephisus*. But the same *Plutarchus* saith, that he knoweth no soch floud there aboute of that name, nor yet in any place of all *Cherronea*. Neuerthelesse he beleueth that the floud *Haemon* (which renneth along by *Heraclium*, where the Grekes at that time pitched their campe against *Philippus*) was at the firste in olde time called *Thermodon*, and from that battaill foorthward, the same to haue taken the appelacion of *Haemon*, because it was then filled vp with dedde corpses, and with bloud. For αἷμα, is Greke for bloud. But this was soche a sore battaill, that *Philippus* feared *Demosthenes* all daies of his life after, for that thesame had persuaded the Grekes to battaill.

‡ ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται, (that is: A manne that flieth will renewe battaill again) is a prouerbiall verse (as *Erasmus* in his Chiliades admonisheth) by whiche we are warned not by and by, to bee brought in despaire, if some thing haue not well come to our passe. For though a man bee now ouercomed, he maie at an other time haue better hap. Wherof *Homere* calleth it ἑτεραλκέα νίκην, that is now strong on the one side, and now on the other. And *Alexander* (*Paris* the soonne of *Priamus*, king of *Troie*) thus speaketh in *Homere*, νίκη δ' ἐπαμείβεται ἄνδρας, that is: Victorie chaungeth from parte to parte. And thesame *Alexander* in an other place again saieth:

Menelaus now, through Pallas hath wonne,
And so shall I at an other season.

So *Davus* in *Terence*:

Hac non successit, alia aggrediendum est via.

That is,

This waie it will ne frame ne faie,
Therefore must we proue an other waie.

So meaned *Demosthenes*, that though he had had missehappe at that season, yet an other more propice time should come, when his chaunce should be to doe his countree better seruice, &c. And this was a meetely honeste excuse.

7. How *Demosthenes* escaped being deliuered into the handes of *Alexander*.

When Alexander on this condicion offreed peace vnto the Atheniens, if thesame would yelde vp into his handes eight of the citezens, emong whom Demosthenes to be one: Demosthenes told vnto them the tale of the Woulf, who vpon this condicion offred peace vnto the shepe, if thesame would yeld & deliuer him their dogges, that kepte him from the folde.

¶ Under the name of the woulf betokenyng *Alexander*, by the dogges meanyng those persones, who at that

Who betraieth the gouernors and rulers, betraieth the whole people & countre.

that presente season had the cure and charge of all the publique affaires, and by the shepe signifiyng the commenaltee of the *Atheniens*. He added moreouer an other example. As the mercatemen (saieth he) do bring out a little modicum of wheate or other corne, in a Treen dishe for a sample or shewe, desiryng by thesame to selle whole greate heapes: so ye, if ye betraie & deliuer vp the .8. Citezens, whiche are demaunded of you, ye betraie and deliuer the whole vniuersall people euery mothers childe.

8. When Demosthenes being condemned of the Areopagites, had escaped out of prieson, and was renning * awaie, and had met in the teeth not ferre from the citee, certain persones of the contrarie part, that wer not his frendes: firste he would fain haue hidden himself. But when the parties speakyng to him, and calling him Demosthenes by his name, bid him to be of good comforte, and also offred hym money to helpe hym on his waie, he gaue an heauie sigh, euen from the botome of his harte, saiyng: How can I possible forsake this Citee, in whiche I haue soche enemies, as I shall not finde frendes of the like sorte, in an other countree?

Of *Areopagus* & the *Areopagites*, it is afore noted.

The naturall loue and desire of eche man toward his natiue countree.

* The cause of the banishment of *Demosthenes*, was this. Ther was one *Harpalus* (of whom it is afore mencioned) who partely of remorse and conscience of euill handleyng himself in matters committed vnto his fidelitee, and partly for that he sawe *Alexander* begin to weaxe verie rigourous and sore to his frendes, fled out of *Asia* and came to *Athenes*. And when he had with certain shippes and greate substaunce of money, submitted himself to the pleasure and will of the people of *Athenes*, the other Oratours counsailled the people to receiue and protecte him, but *Demosthenes* at the first beginning, gaue them connsaill in no wise to receiue him, but to be well aware, lest thei should by reason of him, areise battaill of an vniuste and vnreasonable cause. Within fewe daies after, when *Harpalus* (who by like had a good insight in soche matters) espiyng and marking *Demosthenes* to haue an earnest iye, and a greate fansie vnto a goodly cup of gold that was of excellent werkmanship, caused thesame to be weighed, *Demosthenes* moche wondred at the weight of the cuppe, & demaunded what the cuppe drawed (meaning of weight in the balaunce) I wis quoth *Harpalus* (smiling vpon him) it shall drawe you xx. talentes, and the next night followinge sent vnto *Demosthenes* the saied cuppe of golde

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gplde secretlie, and 20. talentes withall, whiche *Demosthenes* receiued. And when *Harpalus* his cause within a daie or twoo after, was had againe in communicacion, *Demosthenes* came to the assemblee of the people, with his necke all stuffed, lapped, and wrapped in wolle, furres, and cloutes. He was bidden to saie his minde, he refused to speake, allegeing that he had a bone in his throte, & could not speake. But the people perceiued the matter well enough, that he had been corrupted with money by *Harpalus*. And without any more businesse, first and foremuste thei expulsed *Harpalus*, & bid him voide. And that doen, forasmoche as thei stoode in feare and drede, lest the money whiche the oratours had receiued, should be required of them by *Alexander*, thei serched the oratours houses, for al soche money and iewelles. Then *Demosthenes* being manifestly found culpable, would haue pourged himself, but the people would in no wise heare him speak. No? (saied one) will ye not geue eare vnto him, that hath soche a goodly golden cuppe? Well, the people cried out vpon him. *Demosthenes* put the matter vp to the iudgement and sentence of the *Areopagites*, by whom he was condemned in a fine of .l. talentes, and commaunded to warde, vntill the fine shoulde be satisfied & paied. *Demosthenes* partly by reason of that extreme iudgement, for that he was feble and weake of bodie, nor hable to endure the enpriesonment, broke awaie priuely, and fledde into *Arcadia*, whiche is a region of *Achaia*.

9. What *Demosthenes* saied to *Pallas*, at his departing out of *Athenes*.

It is reported that Demosthenes in his departing from the citee, looked backe vnto the toure of Pallas, and his handes lifted vp vnto heauen, saied: O Pallas ladie of citees, why settest thou thy delite in three the moste vnluckefull beastes of the worlde, the Oulette, the Dragon, and the people?

The Oulette dedicated vnto *Pallas*.

¶ The oulet, where she is of all birdes the moste vnluckfull, yet is she dedicated vnto *Pallas*, like as thesame *Pallas* hath a Dragon also, whiche she beareth about with her, for her cognisaunce. And as for the people is a monstrous beast of many heddes, accustomed with the moste naughtie vnkindenesse possible, to reward soche persones as hath doen them benefite, as thei did *Socrates*, *Phocion*, * *Scipio*, and right many others mo.

The people a beast of many heddes.

The ingratitude of the people towarde their benefactours.

* Of the ingratitude of the people of *Athens* towardes *Socrates* & *Phocion*, it is afore declared. As touching *Scipio*, there wer fower of the name in Rome, one after an other, as noble men, as wise counsaillours, and as valiaunte capitaines, as euer wer in Rome, and whiche did asmoche benefite to the commenweale, as vneth any penne maie write. And yet euery one of theim, founde at the handes of the people of Roome, incomparable ingratitude. The first of them wone *Carthage*, and made it tributarie vnto Rome, when it had so tiered Rome with long warres, that it was moche more nigh to subdue Rome, then to bee subdued vnto Rome. This *Scipio* triumphed on *Carthage*, and had geuen vnto him the surname of *Africane* (because he subdued *Carthage*, and therby *Afrike*.) And yet was he at last exiled, and did die out of his countree a banished man. *Scipio* surnamed the *Asiatike*

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Asiatike (because he subdued king *Antiochus* vnto Rome, and besides him al *Asia*, of whom he also triumphed) was afterward falslie arrained of robbing the treasourie of Rome, and moste wrongfully commaunded to prieson. *Scipio Africane* the second (to whom that surname was geuen, because he beate doune and destroied bothe the citee of *Numantia*, & also the citee of *Carthage*, being with al their power and puissaunce, bent and set against the citee of Rome) was wekedly slain in his bedde in the night, & yet in all the citee of Rome, could not one be found that would se soch an hainous murder auenged or punished. And this *Scipio* it is, that *Erasmus* here speaketh of, *Scipio* surnamed *Nasica* (who saued the commenweale from the violent oppression of *Tiberius Gracchus* the *Tribune*) was in his latter daies, sent as halfe a banished man to *Pergamus*, & there spent the residue of his life.

10. The affaires of a commenweale are dangerous to medle withall saied *Demosthenes*.

Unto the yong men with whom he vsed familiaritee, he would often times saie, that knowing as he now did, how moche enuie feare, false surmuised querelyng, and how moche perill, a man coming to the affaires of the commenweale hath to looke for, if the one of twoo wer to be chosen, he would rather go to his death, then vp into a pulpite to make an oracion, or els vp to the benche to sitte vpon matters of iudgemente.

11. Contencion betwene *Pytheas* & *Demosthenes*.

At what tyme he liued in Arcadia a banished man, and Pytheas in the fauour and behalf of the Macedonians, had said in this maner, As we deme that hous to haue sum eiuill maladie within it, into the whiche is carried milke for to bee solde, so maie wee thinke that citee to be corrupted with some eiuill disease, vnto the whiche is sente any ambassade of the Atheniens: Demosthenes thus turned that clause clene arsee versee. As milke (saieth he) is brought into houses for to restore sicke folkes to their healthe again, so are the Atheniens alwaies readie, for the safegarde and preseruacion of other foren citees. As sone as the commenaltee of the Atheniens had knowlege of this, thei foorthwithall sent for hym, to come home again from exile. ☞ After this saiyng, the commenaltie of *Athenes*, whiche had afore condemned him were sodainly stricken againe in loue with hym, and saied that he was an honest man again, & loued the citee & many gaie good morowes.

How *Demosthenes* was restored from banishmente.

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morowes. Wherupon *Damon Paeanieus* the neffewe of *Demosthenes*, made mocion vnto the people, that *Demosthenes* might be restored to his former state, & might come home to the citie again. The people made a decre vpon it. And vnto *Aegina* was sent a galy for him to fet and bryng hym home again with honor. And when he was approched nere to *Athenes*, al the magistrates of the citee, all the ministers and presidentes of the temples full and whole, and the other citezens by whole flockes went to meete him, and receiued him (as ye would saie) with generall procession, and with all triumphe, honour, and solemnitee. Yea, and the fine of 50. talentes, whiche he had afore been condemned in (because thei might not by iustice or lawe releasse or forgeue it) thei ordeined by a publique decree to conuerte vnto the altare of *Minerua*, & to be deducted of the money whiche was to bee leuied for the behouf of thesame altare. For the *Atheniens* had a vse and custome at a certain feast (whiche thei called the feast of *Iupiter* the saueour) to make a commen boxe for the repairing, decking, and furnishing of the altare of *Minerua*, and for the doing of this, they appoincted a gathering of fiftie talentes in the name of *Minerua*, to be conuerted and applied to the satisfiyng and paiyng of *Demosthenes* his fine, for in so muche a summe he was condemned, as afore is saied.

12. *Demosthenes* gloried in comparing his returning from exile, with the returning of *Alcibiades.*

When a shippe was sent him returning home againe from exile, and many of the magistrates or publique officers, and citezens had come foorth of the citee to meete him, Demosthenes lifting vp his handes to heauen, saied, that a more honourable returning hadde chaunced vnto him then vnto Alcibiades, for that * Alcibiades had come home again, the citezens constreigned parforce to sende for him, and he on his partie, the citezens through peaceable and gentle perswasion condescending and agreing thereunto.

* *Alcibiades* beyng absente on warrefare was accused by one *Thessalus*, that he had a certain brethreed which vsed to resorte and gather togethter at his hous, and there to assemble like plaiers on a staige, to countrefaicte the sacres of *Ceres* (the goddesse of corne) and to represent the misteries of thesame sacres whiche wer wont to be celebrated and kept of the *Atheniens* with great reuerence and deuocion. He added moreouer, that *Alcibiades* and his adherentes diuided the executing of all the offices apperteining to those ceremonies, and that one *Polytion* was the candlestick bearer or torche bearer, and one *Theodorus* to be the chaunter, or Clerke, and *Alcibiades* being the executour and chief president of all the sacres to reade a lecture vnto all his compaignie of all the said misteries, &c. *Alcibiades* was gently required to come home to *Athenes* for to make his aunswer and declaration in the premisses, he drewe backe & would not come to *Athenes*, and to one demaunding whether he mistrusted

mistrusted his own natiue countree & citee, he aunswered, that he trusted his countree veray well, but as for the hasarding of his hedde and life he thought not best to put in the handes of his veray mother neither, lest she might chaunce to bringe & cast in a blacke stone in stede of a white. Vpon this he fledde, and would not come to *Athenes*. Wherupon he was condemned being absent, and all his goodes forfaicted, and to the ende that no poincte of ignomie should lacke, all the ministers of all the temples were bidden to accurse *Alcibiades* as an impious persone and a wicked miscreant. They also by a decree condemned him to death as a traitour. Whereof when relacion was made vnto *Alcibiades*, he answered that the *Atheniens* should finde him to be aliue. Then went he to their enemies, and did the *Atheniens* muche scathe, till at last they were glad and fain to desire & praie him to come home and helpe theim. Then partly remorse of conscience and partely the naturall desire of his countree so pricked him, that euen at the very plounge when the *Lacedemonians* should vtterly foreuer haue confounded the *Atheniens* in battail on the sea, *Alcibiades* sodainly with out the knowledge of either partie came with certain shippes vpon the *Lacedemonians* behinde at their backes, & turned the victorie to the *Atheniens*, and so came home highly welcomed, although they had by necessitee been forced to seeke vpon him.

13. After that Demosthenes for feare of Antipater had fledde into the Isle of Calauria, and kept himselfe in the temple of Neptunus, and Archias, of a plaier of tragidies now growen and come vp to bee a manne of power assaied and laboured with honey sweete wordes to perswade Demosthenes that thesame should putte himselfe in the grace of Antipater, by whom not onely to haue no maner harme at all, but also to be honoured with moste high and bounteous rewardes: he said in this maner: O Archias thou neuer diddst like me in thy life on the staige being a plaier, nor shalt perswade me to thy purpose nowe at this present beyng an Oratour. But when Archias beeing throughly out of pacience thretened to pulle hym parforce out of the Temple: Yea marie (quoth Demosthenes) nowe at last thou hast plainly opened the * oracles of Macedonie. For vntill the speaking of this worde, thou diddest but countrefaicte and make a feigned countenaunce, accordynge to the guise and facion of enterlude plaiers.

Reade the annotacion of the viii. *apophtheg.*

This temple was a sure place of refuge as a sanctuary.

Archias first a plaier of entreludes, and afterward a gret man of power with *Antipater*

What an oracle is reade in the xv. saiynge of *Alexander*.

* The oracles of *Macedonie*, *Demosthenes* called the pleasure of *Antipater* king of *Macedonie*.

Mening that *Antipater* had commaunded *Archias* to bring *Demosthenes* by faire meanes or foule. *Demosthenes* alluded to the propre signification of an oracle, mening that *Antipater* toke vpon him in maner no lesse then if he had been a God.

Demosthenes

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14. Of *Corinthus* is afore noted in the 33. *apophthegme* of *Diogenes.*

Demosthenes sailed to *Corinthe* to haue his pleasure of *Lais.*

Lais a costely dame to lie with, of whom reade the .31. saiyng of *Aristippus.*

Repentaunce euermore ensueth of vnhonest pleasure

Demosthenes is reported to haue sailled on a time to the citee of Corinthe, enticed and allured with the fame of Lais* a Courtisan, there of great name, to thintent that he also emong the mo might haue his pleasure of the paramour whiche all the worlde spake of. But when she by couenaunt required for one night tenne thousande drachmes, Demosthenes feared with the greatnesse of the price chaunged his mynde, saiyng: οὐκ ἀγοράζω τοσούτου μετανοῆσαι, that is: I will not bie repentaunce so dere.

¶ Signifiyng, that vnto vnhonest pleasure repentaunce is a prest compaignion to come after. ☞ Yea & one propretee more it hath, that the pleasure is small, & is gone in a moment, the repentaunce great, and still enduring as long as life continueth.

* *Lais* an harlot of *Corinthe* of excellent beautie, but so dere and costly, that she was no morsell for mowyers. She was for none but lordes and gentlemen that might well paie for it. Whereof came vp a prouerbe, that it was not for euery man to go vnto *Corinthe.* This historie of *Demosthenes* is rehersed of *Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius,* and others.

15. Reade the first *apophthegme* of *Demosthenes.*

The saiyng of Pytheas is commen and muche spoken of, that the oracions of Demosthenes smelled all of the candle, for that thesame did in the night season wryte and recorde soche thinges as he had to saye to the people in the daye time. So when another feloe, which had an euil name abrode for the suspicion of pieking and brybinge, veray malapertly inueighed against thesame thing: I knowe it ful wel (quoth Demosthenes) that we doe werke thee muche sorowe, in that we light candles in the night.

Priuie theues loue the darke.

¶ For priuie stealers loue the darke.

16. How *Demosthenes* taunted *Demades.*

One Demades criyng, Oh, Demosthenes wil take vpon him to correcte me, the sow wil teache * Minerua, thesame Demosthenes saied: Yea, but this Minerua (quoth he) was taken the last yeare in aduoutrie. ¶ He

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Minerua by the fiction of the poetes a perpetuall virgin.

¶ He laied vnto the charge of *Demades* aduoutrie, wher as the Poetes do make *Minerua* to be a perpetual virgin.

* A swine to teache *Minerua* was a prouerbe against soche, as either being themselfes of no knowlege ne wisdome at all will take vpon theim to teache persones that are excellently skilled and passing expert, for whiche we saie in Englishe, to teache our dame to spinne, or els, that wil take vpon theim to be doctours in those thinges in which theimselfes haue no skill at all, for whiche we saie in Englishe, to correct *Magnificat* before he haue learned *Te deum*. For *Minerua* was thought the patronesse of all witte and of all ingenious artes (as is aforesaied) and the swyne, by the tradicion and writing of all the naturall Philosophiers is declared to be of all beastes the moste brutyshe, and lest apt to learne any thing.

17. Thesame Demosthenes withstoode the Athe-

Demosthenes woulde not bee at the becke of the people.

niens importunely desiryng him to shewe his aduise, and said: οὐ συντέταγμαι. That is, I am none of those whiche are brought vnder coram.

¶ Signifiyng, that he was not as a bonde seruaunt made to the beck of the people, but at his owne will and pleasure at all times to doe what thing he had iudged expedient to be doen.

18. A certain bonde maiden had receiued of two men of her acquaintaunce a certaine summe of money to keepe for theim, with this condicion and agreement, that she should redeliuer thesame sum vnto theim both together. The one of these two parties within a shorte space after, comynge cladde in a mourning garment, and going as though he had no ioye of his life, & feigning that his partener was dead, beguiled the woman, and gotte the money out of her fingers. This doen, anon came the seconde partie vnlooked for, and begonne to require that had been leafte in her custody. And where the woman being in a peck of troubles, was halfe in minde and purpose to hang herself, Demosthenes was so good vnto her to become her aduocate, who, as soone as he came to make his plea in her behalfe, went roundely to the demaunder of the money

How *Demosthenes* by a subtile ingine saued a poore woman from paiyng one summe twis.

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money after this sorte: This woman (saieth he) is readie well and truely to discharge herself of the money, which she was put in truste withal to kepe, but onles thou bring thy partener to, she may not doe it, because that by thine owne confession and wordes, this was a plain composicion made betwene you, that the money should in no wise be deliuered to the one of you without the other.

¶ By this sutle ingen he saued the poore seely woman, and clerely defeacted the conspirisie of the two vilaines, who had driuen a drift to receiue double paiment of one summe.

To a certain persone demaunding what was the principall poincte in eloquence, he made aunswere, hypocrisis, that is, action or pronunciation. To thesame persone eftsones asking, what was the next poinct and what the thirde, he still made none other aunswer but, action, action. 19.

¶ Referring so moche to pronunciation, that he thought altogether to consiste in thesame. And in deede the action or pronunciation comprehendeth many things mo then one, that is to weete, the tempering and qualifiyng of the voice, the earnest loke of the yies, the porte of the countenaunce, and the gesturing or conueighaunce of all the whole body.

When the fingers of the Atheniens ticleed to aide and succour Harpalus, & were nowe alreadie vp towardes warre against Alexander, sodainly was seen Philoxenus arriued in the countree of Attica, whome Alexander had made his high amirall. At this sodain arriuall of the said Philoxenus when the people being with feare astouned were sodainly whished & weaxed dumme: What would these men doe (quoth Demosthenes) 20.

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Demosthenes) if they should see the sunne which haue not the power to looke against a candle?

¶ After soche sorte did he vpbraid to the people their rashe and vnaduised stiering of coles, and arisinges to warre. ☞ By the Sunne he meaneth *Alexander*, in comparison of whom, this *Philoxenus* was scacely to be estemed a candle.

21. Certain persones esteming and saiyng that Demades had nowe geuen ouer to be soche an haine, as he had been in time past: Yea marie (quoth Demosthenes,) for nowe ye see him ful paunched, as Lions are.

Demades was coueteous of money,

¶ For *Demades* was couetous and gredie of money. And in deede the Lions are more gentle when their bealies are well filled.

22. When he was by a certain persone reuiled with moch naughtee language: I am now matched (quoth he) to buccle in a strife, in whiche who so hath in fine the ouerhande, getteth the wurse, and who so ouercometh leseth the victorie.

In reuiling one an other, who so ouercometh leseth the victorie.

23. Thesame Demosthenes, when he heard a certain oratour speaking out of measure loude and high, and altogether in Pilates voice, saied: Not all that is great, is well, but all that is wel is great.

Not al that is greate is well, but all that is well is greate.

¶ This saiyng is ascribed to others also. And some folkes there been, that esteme feastes whiche are drawen of a length to sit all daie, and are furnished with sondrie dishes, or courses of the moste, to be roiall deintie geare, ☞ whereas by the plain determinacion of all naturall, Philosophiers, and of all good Phisicians in the worlde, one good dishe alone to feede on, is more naturall and more holsome for the bodie, then the varietee of many costlie dishes at one repaste.

One dish alone to feede one, is more holsome for the bodie, then variete of dishes.

¶ The ende of the seconde booke.

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¶ That thou mayest the soner and eallyer fynde (moste gentle reader) either the name of any persone or any other good matter conteined in this booke, I haue here added a large and plaine Table after the order of the A. B. C. set out with the noumbre of the leafe, where thou shalt fynde any suche thyng as thou desyrest to haue therein.

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APPENDIX.

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Appendix.

Proverbs, Quaint Sayings, Out-of-the-way Words and Phrases, allusions to Customs, &c., &c.

Perhaps some of the expressions in the explanations may be considered too vulgar; but I cannot see how better to illustrate old vulgar (common) sayings than by parallel modern vulgar sayings.

It will be better, in many cases, to refer to the page and read the whole passage where an unusual word or expression occurs: this will frequently make the meaning pretty clear, and this is why several words and phrases are merely quoted with the page number, without any comment.

For the most part, the meanings of the unusual words and phrases are attempted to be illustrated only by parallel passages from other writers, in accordance with the advice of Quintilian:

"It is not inugh for hym to haue red poetes, but all kyndes of writing must also be sought for, not for the histories only, but also for the propretie of wordes, which cōmunely doo receiue their auctoritie of noble auctours."—*Sir T. Elyot's Governour* (1537), *f.* 57.

It was thought this would be better than giving a formidable array of references to Cotgreve's, Bosworth's, Nare's, and other Dictionaries, the common practice of most makers of Glossaries.

PAGE

Redubbe v., xviii., 21

To repair, mend, redress, to *re-do-up*; and is a form of the old English word "Dub," to do-up, which, again, is very likely from the French "ADDOUBER, to dress, patch, mend, to set fitly together."

"He was therwith asswaged of his fury, and reduced in to his fyrst astate of reason: in suche wise, that in *redoubing* his rage, and that there by shuld not remaine to him any note of reproche, he retehning his fiers & stourdy countenaunce, so

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tempered him selfe, ... that they reputynge al that his fiers demeanour to be (as it were) a diuine maiestie, neuer embraided him with any inordinate wrath or fury."—*Elyot's Governour* (1537), *f.* 21.

Medleing v

Mixing or mingling.

Peignted sheath v., 24, 163, 243

Pride, ostentation; an intimation that whatever pride he might have about his body, after all it was only the case of his soul, and of no more account than the sheath is to the sword. The expression is often used in this book.

Capte vi., 357

Capacity.

With a weate finger vii

This is the earliest instance known to me of this saying, which was so common with our ancestors. It means anything that can be done without trouble, or readily. There can be no doubt whatever that in the beginning it just literally described a common practice. Let it be remembered that until the time of Erasmus, almost the only books students could get were in Latin and Greek. Our own school-boy experiences remind us that the Mediæval scholar would often be at a loss for the meaning of a word: then the Dictionary (Vocabularium) would be in request. "Look it out" would say *our* master, "Wet your finger and look for it" probably said *their* "*creanser*," which phrase having to repeat as many times in an hour as Coleridge's Jew had to say "Old clo," soon naturally got shortened into "Wet your finger." I have read somewhere that it is supposed to be an allusion to "sweillebollors" (as N. Udall would say) who would write names by dipping their fingers in the puddles of drink spilt on the top of the table. This seems far-fetched and unlikely. That dirty sots did dabble about with their fingers in the "slops" at their carouses is certain. That the practice of wetting the finger to turn over the leaves of books was very common in the 15th and 16th centuries, collectors know too well, to their sorrow. Some years ago, I bought a copy of Peter Schöffer's Bible, 1472, so filthy from this practice, that I took it to pieces, and laid the leaves singly on a deal board; and having first lightly *scraped* off the thickest dirt with a shoemaker's knife, *washed* both sides of the paper with a soft sponge dipped in warm soap and water, then used Benzolene and other things for removing the stains left by greasy fingers, re-sized it, had it appropriately bound after an antique pattern, and made a very choice copy out of what some people would have thought an almost worthless one. It may seem odd to those not acquainted with the splendid

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quality of the paper used by the inventors of Printing to talk of washing a book with soap and water, but I can assure them it is a literal fact, and that it was not a mild damping, "a lick and a promise," *(Linc. Prov.)* but a regular scouring and "lathering," as one would scour cloth. If any choose to follow this example, let them try it only on "Fifteeners," for the art of making such paper appears to be totally lost in these degenerate days: let them also be careful not to scour too long without washing the soap off occassionally with pure water, for fear of removing some of the printing ink, for there appeared to be more danger of that than anything else.

Earnest penie ix

Money paid to confirm a bargain, to show the parties are in earnest. In some parts of the country it is usual upon the hiring of servants at "May-day time" for the ensuing year, to give them a small sum,—half-a-crown or five shillings, as "earnest money,"—in Lincolnshire it is called "fasten-penny," and if, any time between hiring and entering upon service, the servants should repent, or change their minds, they send their "fasten-penny" back, and the bargain is at an end.

Cloggued nor letted ix

Burdened nor hindered. Let is used here, according to its old meaning, which, it need hardly be said, was quite contrary to its modern one.

Ragmann's rolles x

A jest or a satire. See N. Udall's note on the term, in his remarks on Apop. 33 of Augustus Cæsar, p. 273 of this work.

"With that I stode vp, halfe sodenly afrayd;
Suppleyng to Fame, I besought her grace,
And that it wolde please her, full tenderly I prayd,
Owt of her bokis Apollo to rase.
Nay, sir, she sayd, what so in this place
Of our noble courte is ones spoken owte,
It must needes after rin all the worlde aboute.

God wote, theis wordes made me full sad;
And when that I sawe it wolde no better be,
.
I did what I cowde to scrape out the scrollis,
Apollo to rase out of her *ragman rollis*."
Dyce's Skelton (Garlande of Laurell), Vol. I., p. 420.

The following passage from Piers Ploughman would seem to show that "Ragman" or "Rageman" is the devil.

"*In limbo inferni*
There is derknesse and drede
And the devel maister.
And Piers, for pure tene,
Of that a pil he raughte;
He hitte after hym,
Hitte how it myghte,
Filius by the fader wille
And frenesse of *Spiritus sancti*,
To go robbe that RAGEMAN,
And reve the fruyt fro hym."
Piers Ploughman, (Wright 1856) Vol. ii., p. 335.

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Missed the cushen xiii, 348

Quite beside the mark. Probably an allusion to some part of the performance in the old *Cushion-dance*.

"And when he weneth to syt,
Yet may he mysse the quysshon."
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I, *p.* 349.

Or it may be an old term in Archery, meaning the target, which was generally stuffed with straw, or rather—made of twisted ropes of straw, and covered with a painted cloth.

"He snacht at the bag. No haste but good, (quoth shee),
Short shooting leeseth your game, ye may see,
Ye mist the cushin, for all your haste to it.
And I may *set you beside the cushin* yit."
Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. II., cap. 9.

Gaily well broken and exercised ... xiv., 3, 27, 89, 90, 194

We "brake in" horses, and it is rather singular to see this term used concerning the education and training of youth, but that severity was the order of the day, is notorious. Roger Ascham's very pleasant and sensible book, *The Schoolmaster*, opens with a graphic account of a dinner "at Windsore," "when the great plague was at London, the yeare 1563." After telling us that "M. Secretarie [Cecil] hath this accustomed maner, though his head be neuer so full of most weightie affaires of the Realme, yet, at diner time he doth seeme to lay them alwaies aside: and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning: wherein he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his Table," he goes on to relate a conversation about "divers Scholers of Eaton" that "be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating"; in which he strongly speaks against the practice. He recurs to the subject more than once, as in the following extract:—"For commonlie, many scholemasters, some as I haue seen, moe, as I haue heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they rather breake him, than bowe (bend) him, rather marre him, then mend him. ... These ye will say, be fond scholemasters, and fewe they be, that be found to be soch. They be fond in deede, but surelie ouermany soch be found euerie where."—*Ascham's Schole-master (Arber's Rp.), p.* 32.

The translator of this book (N. Udall) was a very severe schoolmaster, as Tusser testifies in the often-quoted verse—

"From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
To learn straightways, the Latin phrase,
Where fifty-three stripes, given to me,
At once I had,

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For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pass, that beat I was:
See UDALL, see, the mercy of thee,
To me, poor lad."

Tusser's Husbandry, (1812 ed.) p 156.

Communication xiv., xxi., 91, 163, 301

Conversation or discourse. To have communion is to impart our thoughts and opinions, and not merely to meet or assemble together.

Maugre their heddes xiv., 207

In spite of, notwithstanding.

Vneth xiv., 64, 269

Hardly, scarcely, not easily.

Recule xviii., 306

Recoil, retreat.

Put in ure xix., 70, 125, 200

Put in use.

"What thing a man in tender age has most in *ure*
That same to death alwayes to kepe he shal be sure
Therefore in age who greatly longes good frute to mowe
In youth he must him selfe aplye good seede to sowe."

Ascham's Toxophilus, Arber's Reprint, p 57.

Cast in the teeth xx., 268

"Threw in his face."

Bourdyng xxiv., 272, 359

Jesting, scoffing.

Olde Wiues foolishe tales of Robin Hoode xxv

An allusion to the popularity of Robin Hood with the common people.

"The Holy Bible grounde of truth and of lawe,
Is now of many abiect and nought set by,
Nor godly scripture is *not worth an hawe;*
But tales are loued ground of ribaudry,
And many are so blinded with their foly,
That no scripture thinke they so true nor good,
As is a foolishe iest of *Robin hood.*"

Barclay's Ship of Fools (1570), *f.* 23.

Hicke scorner xxvi

Hickscorner is the title of one of the oldest dramas in our language; it was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, who was one of the journeymen of Caxton, the first printer in England. Hickscorner is the name of the principal character in the play; he is a libertine who has travelled, and is a great scoffer at

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religion and proprieties in general. He is again alluded to at page 15.

Gentiles and Miscreauntes xxviii

Merely misbelievers, or persons not having a knowledge of Christian truth are here intended, although the modern meaning is more offensive.

Regimente 6

Regimen, rule, government.

"He that goeth about to perswade a multitude, that they are not so well-governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable Hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kinde of *Regiment* is subject; but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings, are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider."—*Hooker's Ecc. Polity, first sentence of the book.*

Bobbers 6

Deceivers or cheaters.

"Who careth, nor spareth, till spent he hath all,
Of *bobbing*, not robbing, be fearful he shall."
Tusser, (1812 Reprint) p. xxviii.

Arsee versee 6, 99, 376

The "tail" at top (reversed), clean contrary, quite the opposite.

"To tumble ouer and ouer, to toppe ouer tayle."
Ascham's Toxophilus, Arber's Reprint, p. 47.

Minionlie 7

Delicately, prettily. The word is often used in this book.

Coiling 7

Tumult, trouble, disturbance, rowing, scolding, (frequently used by Shakespeare.) Here it appears to mean beating.

"Nay, as for charming me, come hither if thou dare,
I shall cloute thee tyll thou stinke, both thee and thy traine,
And *coyle* thee mine own handes, and send thee home againe."
N. Udall's Roister Doister, Act iii., sc. 3.

A blewe poinct 8

A string or band. Sometimes means what are now called braces or "suspenders." A very common term at the beginning of the sixteenth century for denoting anything of small value. To illustrate this proverb, we give an amusing extract from (Merry) Andrew Boorde, that much maligned, genial, sound-hearted and sensible Englishman:

"Myrth commeth many wayes, the princypal myrth is when a man doth lyue out of deadly syn, and not in grudg of conscience in this worlde, and that euerye man doth reioyce in

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God, and in charitie to his neyghbour, there be many other myrthes and consolacions, some beynge good and laudable, and some vycuperable, laudable myrth is one man or one neyghboure to be mery with an other, with honesty and vertue, with out sweryng and sclaunderyng, and rybaldry speaking. Myrth is in musycall instrumentes, and gostly and godly syngyng, myrth is when a man lyueth out of det, and may haue meate and drinke and cloth, although he haue neuer a peny in his purse, but nowe a dayes he is merye that hath golde and syluer, and ryches with lechery, and *all is not worth a blewe poynte.*"—*Boorde's Breuiary of Healthe*, 1552, *f.* 58.

Trumpery excuses for not reading 8

It appears that Erasmus was as much aggravated then with the grossness, sensuality, and want of interest in refining occupations, as Professor Ruskin is now. When a man in comfortable circumstances says he has no time for reading, and we see he has plenty of time for eating, drinking, and smoking, it it very evident that the animal "bears the stroke" in *his* composition. Lord Bacon most pertinently observes "That learning should take up too much time or leisure: I answer, the most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business (except he be either tedious and of no dispatch, or lightly and unworthily ambitious to meddle in things that may be better done by others:) and then the question is, but how these spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent; whether in pleasures or in studies; as was well answered by Demosthenes to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure, and told him, *That his orations did smell of the lamp: Indeed*, (said Demosthenes) *there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamplight.* So as no man need doubt that Learning will expulse business, but rather it will keep and defend the possession of the mind against idleness and pleasure, which otherwise at unawares may enter to the prejudice of both."—*Lord Bacon's Advt. of Learning, Bk. I., p.* 20. (*Bell and Daldy's Rp.*)

Doggue wearie 8

"Dog-tired" and as "tired as a dog," are common enough expressions.

Leere 8

Empty or unburdened.

Fardelle 9

A pack or bundle. "I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandyse, a pretye fardell of bookes: bycause I intended to come agayne rayther neuer than shortelye."—*Raphe Robinson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, *sig. N., i.*

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"And after those days we trussed vp our fardells and went vp to Jerusalem." "*Breeches*" *Bible*, 1582. *Acts* xxi, 15.

Onelesse 10

Unless.

"*What is aboue our reach, we haue naught to doe withall.*" 11

See the sentiment well illustrated in Gower:

"Full ofte he heweth up so hye
That chyppes fallen in his eye."—*Gower* (1532) *f.* 18.

Buff ne baffe 12

Or as the modern vulgar proverb has it, "he could neither speak nor grunt."

Occupie 13, 30, 63, 99, 156, 210, 361

Use; it also meant possess, practise, enjoy, &c. It had also an offensive meaning, and was used in an equivocal sense, as at p. 361. At one time it appears to have been a cant word, much in use with the fast men of the period. Many of the early dramatists and writers allude to it. Ben Jonson has more than one "cut at it." Shakespeare says "These villains will make the word captain as odious as the word *occupy*."

"To do shame they haue no shame,
But they wold no man shulde them blame:
They haue an euyl name,
But yet they wyll *occupy* the same."
Dyce's Skelton (Colyn Cloute) Vol I., p. 355.

"But amonges the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was nothing so *occupyed*, or dydde so moche good as bowes dyd."—*Ascham's Toxophilus, Arber's Reprint, p.* 71.

Gubbe 14

Lot of money.

Slougging... 16, 199

To make sluggish or slow, to idle, or loiter.

"These are but *remoræ*, and hindrances to stay and *slug* the ship from further sailing."—*Lord Bacon's Advt of Learning, Bk. II., p.* 148.

He knewe nothyng sauing only this that he knewe nothyng 16

——"The wisest of all mortall men
Said, '*He knew nought, but that he nought did know*';
And the great mocking-Master mockt not then'
When he said, '*Truth was buried deepe below.*'"
Davies' Poems, Grosart's Reprint, Vol. i. p. 19.

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Leisure the most valuable thing in the world 16

"Wel can Senek and many philosopher
Bywaylen time, more than gold in cofre.
For losse of catel may recovered be,
But losse of tyme schendeth us, quod he.
It wil nat come agayn, withoute drede,
Nomore than wol Malkyns maydenhede,
Whan sche had lost it in hir wantownesse."
Chaucer—Man of Lawes Tale.

See what Lord Bacon says on the advantages of leisure and the "contemplative man" in his *Advt. of Learning, Bk. I.*

He was.....iudged a perfect wise man because that albeit he had ignoraunce of all thinges, like as other men had: yet in this behalf he was aboue them, that he knowledged his ignoraunce, whereas the residue wer vnknowyng of this thing also, that thei perfectly knew nothing 17

This calls to mind the jest of the two Scotch innocents. One accused the other of being a fool. "I know it," replied he, "but thou art a fool and don't know it." By no means an unusual case.

To haue well begonne, is a thing halfe doen 17

"I haue herde say,
That who that well his warke beginneth
The rather a good ende he winneth."
Gower, 1532, sig. aa. iij.

We yet haue this proverb. For further illustration of it, see N. Udall's remarks on the 94 Apoph. of Socrates (p. 41).

Whether a man marry or not, he will repent ... 18

Women have employed the pens of men, especially of Poets and Writers of Fiction, more than any other subject since the world began. If we begin with Solomon's Proverbs and the downright and unflinching statement in Ecclesiasticus, that "All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman" (cap. xxv. 19)., and take the classic writers of Greece and Rome, the mediæval, as well as modern authors, the commonest theme is still woman. At some future time, I may publish a volume containing the most elegant compliments and the bitterest epigrams which have been written on the fair sex,—not compilations from Byron and Tennyson, but further a-field. For the present, let the following suffice. First the "Moral Gower," who is complimentary enough:

"Amonge the men is no solas
If that there be no woman there
For but if that the woman were

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This worldes ioye were awey
This is trouthe, that I you seye.
To knyghthode and to worldes fame
They make a man to drede shame
And honour for to be desyred."
Gower (1532) f. 152.

The next specimen, from Lydgate, is rather deprecatory in its mild pleadings.

.

"It is no reason to atwite women all,
though one or two whilome dyd faile,
It fitteth not, nor it may not auaile,
Them to rebuke that perfite ben and good,
Farre out of ioynt though some other stode.

The rich Rube nor the Saphir ynde,
be not appeired of their freshe beautie,
Though among stones men coũterfets finde
and semblably though some women be
Not wel gouerned after their degre,
it not defaceth nor doth no violence,
To them that neuer did in their life offence.

The white lylly nor the holsome rose
not violence * spredde on bankes thicke, [* violets]
their swetenes which outward they vnclose
Is not appeyred with no wedes wicke,
and though y^e^ breares & many croked sticke
Grow in gardeines among the flowers faire
They may the vertue of herbes not apeire."
Lydgate's Fall of Princes, 1554, *f.* 37.

He afterwards changes his tone somewhat, and, after hinting at Serpents and Lyonesses, winds up with a cry of alarm at his temerity at daring to meddle with so tickle a matter.

"They may of mekenesse shewe a fayre pretence
Some Serpent is of siluer shene,
And some floures ful freshe of apparence,
Grow on thistles, rough, sharpe, and kene.
And some that ben angelike to sene,
and very heauenly with their golden tresses
Ben at a prefe very Leonesses.

To say the soth, a pore man may be shent
I dare no more speake of this matter."
Lydgate's Fall of Princes, f. 82.

The following, which is supposed to be by Chaucer, is also sufficiently complimentary, but, to our fancy, he grinned mischieviously when he wrote it:

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"Lo, how redy hir tonges bin and preste
To speke harme of women causelesse!
Alas, why might ye not as well say the best,
As for to deme hem thus guiltlesse?
In your herte, iwis, there is no gentilnesse,
That of your own gilt list thus women fame;
Now, by my trouth, me think ye be to blame."

"Alle tho that liste of women evil to speke
And sayn of hem worse than they deserve,
I preye to God that hir nekkes to breke,
Or on some evil dethe mote the janglers sterve;
For every man were holden hem to serve,
And do hem worship, honour and servise,
In every maner that they best coude devise."
Chaucer's Praise of Women.

It is about as genuine as his interpretation of the Latin sentence at the end of this extract.

"Madame Partilot, so haue I bliss,
Of o thing God hath me sent large grace;
For when I see the beaute of your face.
Ye ben so scarlet hiew about your eyghen,
It makith all my drede for to deyghen,
For, al so sicker as *In principio* *
Mulier est hominis confusio
Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is
Womman is mannes joye and manne's blis."

However, if our book is ever published, it will certainly show that no man has written anything near so many tender and beautiful things on Women as Chaucer has, notwithstanding a few jokes.

Jolly Andrew Boorde, makes a "*bourd*" of the matter, and truly it is most excellent fooling:

"Now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man, for a woman the sílables cõuerted is no more to say as a man in wo, and set wo before man, and then it is woman, and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne, and also she is subiect to man, except it be there where the white mare is the better horse therfore *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue who so euer say nay.

☞ *The cause of this matter.*

"This matter doth sprynge of an euyl education or bring-

[*From the beginning the woman is the confusion of man.]

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ynge vp, aud of a sensuall and a peruerse mynde, not fearyng god nor worldely shame.

☞ *A remedy.*

"☞ *Physike can nat helpe this matter, but onely God and greate sycknes may subdue this matter, and no man els.*
Vt mulier non coe at cum alio viro nisi cum proprio. &c.

☞ Beleue this matter if you wyll.

"¶ Take the gal of a Bore and the gal of a Wolfe, myxe them togyther, and put to it the oyle of Olyue *ET VNG.* virga. Or els take of the fatnes of a Gote that is but of a yere of age. *ET VNG* virga. Or els take the braynes of a Choffe and myxe it with Hony. *ET VNG.* virga. But the best remedy that I do knowe for this matter, let euery man please his wyfe and beate her nat, but let her haue her owne wyll, as I haue sayde."—*Boorde's Breuiary of Health* (1552) *f.* 82.

But this is mild,—almost complimentary in comparison with a "*sentence*" in "*Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt* (Again-bite, or Remorse of Conscience) edited by Mr. Morris, for the Early English Text Society. The spelling is modernised.

"Fairhood is but a white sack full of dung,—stinking, and as a muck-heap be-snewed." Which elegant comparison is evidently a "plagiarism" from S. Chrysostom, who says: "When thou seest a fair and beautiful person, a brave Bonaroba, a bella donna, *quæ salivam moveat, lepidam puellam et quam tu facilè ames*, a comely woman, having bright eyes, a merry countenance, a shining lustre in her look, a pleasant grace, wringing thy soul, and increasing thy concupiscence; bethink with thyself that it is but earth thou lovest, a mere excrement, which so vexeth thee, that thou so admirest, and thy raging soul will be at rest. Take her skin from her face, and thou shalt see all loathsomeness under it, that beauty is a superficial skin and bones, nerves, sinews: suppose her sick, now reuiled, hoary-headed, old: within she is full of filthy phlegm, stinking, putrid, excremental stuff: snot and snivel in her nostrils, spittle in her mouth, water in her eyes, what filth in her brains," &c.

On the whole, women would appear to have a great deal more reason to complain of the treatment they have received from Divines, of all shades of doctrine, than from any other class.

Hooker (the judicious) accuses them of weakness, and of being easily led to believe nonsense (*Ec. Pol. pref*). Luther, among other uncomplimentary things, said they have "broad hips and seats, to the end they should remain at home, sit still, and keep house, carrie and bring up children" (*Colloquies*, 1652, p. 72). R. Baxter speaks largely of their natural imbecility and childishness (1838 *ed.*, *Vol. I. p.* 399). Adam

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Clarke, in his *Commentary*, says, "in the best days they had to work hard," and quotes Homer, &c., to prove it (Vol I., p. 311, &c). He also says that *Woman* is from the Anglo-Saxon *Wombman*, which means the *man* with the *womb (Comt., Vol. I., p.* 49). Poole, another commentator, says, "The foot is not made for the shoe, but the shoe for the foot; so man is not made for the woman, but the woman for the man."

Cuckolde 18

Poets and wits never tire of "running their rigs" on this unfortunate class. The temptation to give here an extract from Skelton cannot be resisted, not only because it illustrates the word in delightful airy playful verse, but also because it quotes so many good old proverbs.

——"When the rayne rayneth and the gose wynkith,
Lytill wotith the goslyng what the gose thynkith;

He is not wyse ageyne the streme that stryuith;
Dun is in the myre, dame, reche me my spur;
Nedes must he rin that the deuyll dryuith;
When the stede is stolyn, spar the stable dur;
A ientyll hownde shulde neuer play the kur;
It is sone aspyed where the thorne prikkith;
And wele wotith the cat whos berde she likkith;

With Mairione, clarione, sol, lucerne,
Graund juir, of this Frenshe prouerbe olde,
How men were wonte for to discerne
By candlemas day what wedder shulde holde;
But Marione clarion was caught with a *colde colde*,
(Anglice A COKWOLDE.
And all ouercast with cloudis vnkinde,
This goodly flowre: with stormis was vntwynde,

This ieloffer ientyll, this rose, this lylly flowre,
This primerose pereles, this propre vyolet,
This columbyne clere and fresshest of coloure,
This delycate dasy, this strawbery pretely set,
With frowarde frostis, alas, was all to-fret!
But who may haue a more vngracyous lyfe
Than a chyldis birde and a knauis wyfe?

Thynke what ye wyll
Of this wanton byll;
By Mary Gipcy,
Quod scripsi, scripsi:
Uxor tua, sicut vitis.
Habetis in custodiam,
Custodite sicut scitis,
Secundum Lucem, &c."

Dyce's Skelton, Garlande of Laurell, Vol. I., p. 418.

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Cast in the teeth, and haue daiely in your dish 18, 48, 268, 360

Equivalent to the modern "thrown in your face," and "to have it every meal you go to."

Very ungallant remarks of Mister N. Udall's, considering what is said of his fondness for "larking" with the servant girls at Eton.

Your Mother-in-lawe's tattelyng toungue 18

It appears the prejudice against these poor unprotected females is of very long standing.

Xantippe the curstest queene that euer wetted clout ... 21

Grosser versions of this saying have been current in more modern days. Quean is a coarse or bold woman, *not necessarily* an unchaste one.

Damning 23

Here we see the word "damn" used correctly=condemn. Theologians are principally to blame for the meaning which is generally attached to it in modern times. It occurs in Chaucer more than once, where it can only mean condemn or despise, as in Troilous and Creseide, after Troilus was slain by the Greeks

"And when that he was slain in this manere,
His light ghost full blissfully is went
Up to the hollownesse of the seventh sphere;
.
And doun from thence, fast he gan auise
This little spot of earth that with the see
Enbraced is
And in himselfe he lough right at the wo
Of hem that wepten for his death so fast,
And *damned* all our werkes that followeth so
The blind lust, which that may not last."

Troilus and Creseide, Bk. v., last stanza but 8.

"If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and damne his deede."—*Tyndale*, (1573), *f.* 144.

"Ꝺ ȝee witles men of galathie· who deceyued ȝou for to not bileue to the treuhe/ bifore whos ȝȝen ihu crist is dampnyde (or exiliȝde)/."—*Epistle to the Galatians, cap. iii, 6, Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test.* (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as euery priuate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man."—*More's Utopia, trans. by Raphe Robinson*, 1551, *sig. D. vi, verso.*

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Windore 26, 134

The old (and proper) form of "Window," that is, a door to keep out or let in the wind. Holes only were once left in buildings to admit light, but men grew luxurious and put in doors which might be shut when the wind was disagreeable. Glazed windows are supposed to have been first introduced into this country late in the twelfth century. Piers Plowman, Chaucer, Gower, &c., have "Windowe" and "Windoe," but in Lincolnshire most of the middle, and all the lower classes, say "Windore," and they are right in this and in many other instances of what are called "vulgar" pronunciations.* "Glasewindores" are mentioned in the *Paraph. of Erasmus, Pref. to Luke.*

It seems that the word as a term for an opening for ventilation was not confined to houses:—

"As for example, how many *windowes* they must make to theyr shooes? what color and number of knottes goeth to theyr gyrdelles."—*Prayse of Follie*, 1577, *K. iii, verso.*

Tenne commaundementes... 27

Ten fingers, or two fists, a slang term yet in use in the prize-ring—if indeed there be yet a prize-ring.

Full but 29

A colloquialism yet in use: right upon, suddenly met, &c.

Pomanders 31

See Note to p. 116.

Trendles or roundelles 32

Small hoops or balls. Compare the following:

"And made many a faire tournyng
Upon the grene gras springyng.
There myghtest thou see these flowtours,
Mynstrales, and eke jogelours,
That well to synge dide her peyne.
.
There was many a tymbester, [player on the timbrel]
And saillouris, that I dar wel swere [dancers]
Couthe her craft ful parfitly.
The tymbres up ful sotilly
They caste, and hente full ofte
Upon a fynger faire and softe.

Romaunt of the Rose.

Trick voided 32

Decked, ornamented. "Tricked-out" is yet common enough.

The reply of Socrates when asked how he would be buried 39

"He that hath no graue ys couered wyth the skie, and the way to heauen owte of all places is of like length and distance."—*Raphe Robynson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, *B. iiij.*

* See also Note on "Solares" at p. 454.

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If all the calamities of men were put in a heap, each one would choose his own again 40

Compare Addison's celebrated Vision of the Mountain of Miseries, *Spectator*, Nos. 558-9.

Most haste worst speed 41

The old Proverb with several variations.

A penny saved is a penny got 44

See the remarks of Erasmus upon the 101 Apophthegme of Socrates, where he gives this old proverb in various forms.

Win the spurres, and beare the bell 45

"An horse because he draweth nerest to man's sense, and is conuersant amonges men, is therefore partaker also of suche myseries as men are subiecte to. As who not seeldome, whyles hee is ashamed to be ouer runne *for the belle* dooth tyre hym selfe."—*Prayse of Follie*, 1577, *E. viii.*

No mannes dogbolte 48

A low class of serving men, who were as dependent as dogs, and as ready to be sent any errand as "bolts,"

"Where bankrupt Factors to maintaine a state
Forlorne (heauen knows) and wholly desperate,
Turne valiant *Boults*, Pimps, Haxters, roring boyes."
Brathwaite's Strappado for the Devil, Rp., p. 151.

"Farewell vnciuill Stinkards, skum oth' City,
The Suberbs panders, *boults* to garden alleys."—*Ib. p.* 162.

Doubtless an allusion to bolts for crossbows, which were of different sorts and sizes, from small ones with square flat heads for shooting birds, up to large sharp-pointed ones for stags, &c. In the old days of the rigid and arbitrary forest-laws, only the great and wealthy (with a few exceptions) were allowed to keep dogs; and any found straying on the grounds of rich landed proprietors were destroyed without mercy. Most likely a coarse, rough bolt would be used for this purpose (anything good enough to kill a dog with) which, as a murderous and barbarous instrument of oppression, would be held in peculiar detestation by the tillers of the soil, whose dogs were so destroyed. Hence to liken a man to a "dogbolt" would be the reverse of complimentary.

"To bolt"=run off quickly, is yet common.

He is a Man that hath no money, but he is no man, that hath no knowledge nor learnyng 52

More would agree with Barclay than with Aristippus:—

"But if he haue a great wombe and his cofers ful
Than is none holde wyser bytwene London and Hul."
Barclay's Ship of Fools, p. 12, *Rp.*

He had turned vp his heeles and perished 54

The modern vulgar proverb is "He has turned up his toes to the daises"=he is dead.

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Maie Games 56

"Against Maie . . . euery Parishe, Towne, and Village, assemble themselues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goying all together, or deuidyng themselues into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the Hilles and Mountaines, some to one place, some to an other, where they spende all the night in pleasant pastymes, and in the mornyng thei returne, bryngyng with them Birch, Bowes, and braunches of Trees, to deck their assemblies withall. . . . I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viua voce*) by menne of great grauitie, credite and reputation, that of fourtie, three score, or a hundred maides goyng to the Woode ouer night, there haue scarcely the thirde parte of them retourned home againe undefiled."—*Stubbs' Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, *f.* 94.

"Come, my Corinna, come; and comming marke,
How each field turns a street; each street a Parke.
* * * * * *
There's not a budding Boy, or Girle, this day,
But is got up, and gone to bring in May.
A deale of Youth, ere this, is come
Back, and with White-thorn laden home.
Some have dispatcht their Cakes and Creame,
Before that we have left to dreame:
And some have wept and woo'd, and plighted Troth,
And chose their Priest, ere we can cast off sloth;
Many a greene-gown has been given;
Many a kisse, bothe odde and even:
Many a glance too has been sent
From out the eye, Love's Firmament:
Many a jest told of the Keyes betraying
This night, and Locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."
Herrick's Hesperides (1648) *p.* 75.

"God forbydde that Christian women shoulde come forth among the holy congregacion in such maner of apparail, as the commen sorte of vnfaythfull women are wonte to goe forth vnto *weddynges** and *maygames*, trymmyng them selues fyrst with a greate a doo by a glasse, with fynely rolled heare or enbrodryng of golde: eyther with precyouse stones hangyng at their eares or neckes, or otherwise in sylkes or purple, as well to set out theyr beautie vnto suche as loke vpō them to play the *naughtye packes*,† as also in shewyng their Jewelles and substaunce, to vpbrayde suche as be poorer than they of theyr pouertie."—*Paraph. of Erasmus*, 1549, *Tim. f.* 8.

The *Maie Games* alluded to in the text, are the dancings and merry-makings round the May-pole, after the return from the gathering of the May, which Stubbes describes so savagely,

* See Note on p. 455. † See Note on p. 439.

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and Herrick so tenderly and gracefully. The truth, probably, was between the two,—or they were both true.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.

A stone, thei commonly called (Euen as we also do) a feloe that had neither learnyng nor good vtterance of tongue 56

"What vnkinde appetite were it, to desyre to be father rather of a pece of fleshe that can only meue and fele, than of a child, that should haue the perfecte fourme of a man? what so perfectly expresseth a man as doctryne?"

"Diogenes the phylosopher, seynge one without lernynge sytte on a stone, sayde to them that were with him, Beholde where one stone sytteth on an other, which wordes well consydered and tried, shal appere, to conteyne in them wonderfull matter, for the approbation of doctrine."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), *f.* 43.

Men bestowed more money on the keep of their horses, than on the education of their young sons 56

"And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnynge man for their horse than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in dede. For, to the one, they will gladlie giue a stipend of 200. Crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillinges. God, that sitteth in heauen laugheth their choice to skorne."—*Ascham's Scholemaster, Arber's Reprint, p.* 38.

See the *Babee's Book*, capitally edited by Mr. Furnival, for the Early English Text Society, which throws a flood of light on the State of England in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Iacke of Bethleem 59

The treatment of the poor lunatics in asylums was very dreadful in former times. The patients were exhibited for money, like wild beasts in a cage, and visitors were allowed to tease them, as cruel or thoughtless people now tease monkeys in a menagerie. Hogarth, in the seventh plate of the Rake's Progress, represents some fashionable ladies thus amusing themselves by examining some nearly naked lunatics. Some of the only half crazy, or more harmless of the patients, were sent out to beg for the support of the hospital, with badges on their arms, and they were called "Iack-of-Bedlams," or "Tom-of-Bedlams," and, of course, in the "good old times" were treated in the brutal manner, which seems an instinct

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in so many Englishmen, whose choicest sport is to shed the blood of some harmless and innocent creature, or to see animals tear each other in pieces.

Give a stopping oistre 61

In vulgar parlance "stopped his mouth," "shut him up."

"I have a *stoppynge oyster* in my poke
Truste me, and yf it come to a nede:
But I am lothe for to reyse a smoke,
Yf ye coude be otherwyse agrede."
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 48.

"Herewithall his wife to make up my mouth,
Not onely her husbands taunting tale avouth,
But thereto deviseth to cast in my teeth
Checks and *choking oysters*."
Heywood's Proverbs, cap. 11.

Muttonmungers 62, 170

The context sufficiently explains the word.

Ingen or subtile deuise... 64, 381

Piece of ingenuity or contrivance.

Cast him in the nose 65, 146, 164, 281, 372, &c.

As we now say, "threw it in his face," or "taunted him" with it.

Common as the cartwaie 65, 154

"For leasinges and periuries, false subtylties and gyles, and many other wickednesses ben as *common as the cartway* with such inordinate louers of ryches."—*Dives and Pauper*, 1536, *f. Ai verso.*

Fett his gambaudes 67, 84

Fetching gambols, the old way of saying gamboling and frisking.

"For women vse to loue them moste of all,
Which boldly bosteth, or that can sing and iet,
Which are well decked with large bushes set,
Which hath the mastery ofte time in tournament,
Or that can *gambauld*, or daunce feat and gent."
Barclay's Eclogues.

Break a straw between them 68

Would quarrel.

Atonement 75, 200

At-one-ment, to be brought to agree. It would be scarcely necessary to explain a word whose meaning lies so evident on the face of it, but that theologians have wrested it to mean more.

"If it might please you, to enforce no further
The griefes betweene ye: to forget them quite
Were to remember: that the present neede,
Speakes to *attone* you."—*Ant. and Cleopatra, Act* ii., *sc.* 2.

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"And as saynt Bernarde byddeth, take hede by the image how his heed is bowed downe to thee all redye to kysse the and come *at one* with the."—*Dives and Pauper*, 1536, *f.* 13 *verso.*

Miser 76, 121

The exact meaning of the Latin word is a wretched person, such as we now term "miserable";—and not only a man too fond of money.

"With Ioue's disdaine at such a riual's seed,
The wretch, compeld, a runnagate became,
And learn'd what ill a *miser*-state doth breed."
Sidney's Poetical Works, (1877), *Vol. II., p.* 171.

Nicke name 78

A very early instance of the use of this word. To "nick it" is just to hit it, or to do it exactly right. "In the nick of time" =just at the right moment. So "nick-name" just "hits off" the character or quality of a man: "nicks him to a T."

Iacke and Gille 79

"Great unwashed"—members of the rustic "residuum."

Out of square 80

Out of agreement.

Raumpe theim vp 81

Snatch them up in a violent manner, fiercely, like a rampant lion. "Rampagious" is yet common enough.

"They sigh out of the shelle crepe
A lytell serpent on the grounde
Which *rampeth* all aboute rounde
And in ayene he woll haue wonne
But for the brennyng of the sonne
It myght not, and so he deide."
Gower, 1532, *f.* 139 *verso.*

"Is all your delite and ioy
In whiskyng and *ramping* abroade like a Tom boy."
N. Udall's Roister Doister, Act II. sc. iiij.

Robin Hood in Barnsdale stoode... 83

Robin Hood was evidently considered "low" in those days. Tyndale says: "This threatning and forbidding the laye people to reade the Scripture is not for loue of your soules (which they care for as the Foxe doth for the Geesse) is euident and clearer then the Sunne, in as much as they permitte and suffer you to read *Robbin Hode* & Beuis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector, and Troylus, with a thousand histories and fables of loue and wantonnes, and of rybaudry, as filthy as hart can thinke."—*Tyndale's Works*, (1573) *f.* 104.

"I write no ieste ne tale of *Robin Hood*,
Nor sowe no sparkles ne sede of viciousnes;
Wise men loue vertue, wilde people wantonnes."
Barclay's Ship of Fooles (1570), *f.* 259.

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"Rhapsodies *ar that we cal thinges patched together, as the werkes of* Homerus *were, . . . and because those werkes were compiled by patches, thei were called* Rhapsodie, *as ye would saie, patches or cloutes boched together.*" 85

Grummel seede, and mucke of the worlde 86

Evidently a cant term for money; equivalent to the modern "tin," "yellow boys." *Grummel* is a large coarse weed, which grows by the sea and in waste places; some species have a hard seed, which the rustics used to string on a thread and make into bracelets, &c. It appears from the following passage that cakes were made of it.

"The Altars euery where now smoaking be
With Beane-stalkes, Sauine, Laurell, Rosemary,
Their Cakes of *Grummel-seed* they did preferre,
And Pailes of milke in sacrifice to her."
Browne's Brit. Pastorals, pt. I., 1613, *p.* 66.

"What he would have, he might have; his wife was set
In such dotage of him, that faire words did fet
Gromel-seed plenty; and pleasure to prefer,
Shee made much of him, and he mockt much of her."
Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. II., Bk. 1.

He neuer linned rahatyng of those persones ... 86, 95

He never ceased scolding. To "rate" is a common term.

"*Maunching and filling the gutte.*" 86, 148

Munching is commonly said to be eating, but that is scarcely definite enough. Is it not doggedly and slowly eating, rather from greediness than to satisfy hunger?

Maisterfast 87

Fast to a master—not entirely his own master. Compare this passage with the often-quoted sentence of Lord Bacon's:—"He that hath a wife and children hath given hostages to fortune: for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief."—*Essay vii.*

Menne ought not to putte forthe their handes to their friendes with their fyngers clynched fast together 88

That is, of course, they ought to be open-handed and generous.

"For men that yift holde more dere
That yeven is with gladsome chere.
That yift nought to preisen is
That men yeveth maugre his." [in spite of him]
Romaunt of the Rose.

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Cheapman 90

The old form of Chapman, one who buys and sells, or makes bargains.

A man is more particular in testing the soundness of a pot-lid before he buys it, than he is in ascertaining the mental qualities of a man he may desire to purchase 91

This topic was handled by Erasmus more than once, especially as it applies to marriage. He thought it a monstrous thing that any one should be more particular about the soundness and suitability for breeding purposes of their pigs and cattle than about the mental qualities and healthiness of the husbands they choose for their daughters. There are some very graphic and striking dialogues on this matter in his *Colloquies*. His friend Sir T. More was equally in earnest on the subject, and readers of the *Utopia* cannot fail to recollect how gravely he relates that "a sad & an honest matrone sheweth the womā be she maide or widdowe naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibiteth the wowere naked to the woman . . . They do greatlye wonder at the follye of all other nations, whiche in byinge a colte, where as a lytle money is in hassarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that though he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneys be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde som gall or soore. And yet in chewsynge a wyfe, whyche shalbe other pleasure, or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that all the resydewe of the wooman's bodye, being couered with cloothes, they esteme here scaselye be one handebredth (for they can se no more but her face) and so do ioyne her to them not without great ieoperdie of euell agreing together, if anythyng in her body afterwarde do offende and myslyke them. For all men be not so wyse as to haue respecte to the vertuous condicions of the partie. And the endowmētes of the bodye cause the vertues of the mynde more to be estemed and regarded; yea euen in the mariages of wyse men."—*Raphe Robinson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551. *Sig. N v. & vi.*

"Thou saist, that assen, oxen, and houndes,
Thay ben assayed at divers stoundes,
Basyns, lavours eek, er men hem bye,
Spones, stooles, and al such housbondrie,
Also pottes, clothes, and array;
But folk of wyves maken non assay,
Til thay ben weddid, olde dotard schrewe!
And thanne, saistow, we woln oure vices schewe."
Chaucer's Prologe of the Wyf of Bathe.

Seasoned in the Kiel 91

Baked in the kiln.

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Orkyn 91

Most likely an earthen pot or pippin, from the Latin *orca*.

To aryse vp from his tail to doe his duetie of humble obeysance 93

To get up from his seat and show his respect by a humble salute. Farmer's labourers may frequently be seen now-a-days to take off their hats, and, as they call it, "do their duty" to the "quality" by taking hold of their front hair and ducking their heads.

His portion of the Shot 96

His share. We yet hear of "paying the Shot," a "Shot in the locker," &c. This is merely inserted to show how old is the saying, not because it needs any explanation.

"The reckning reckned, he needes would pay the shot,
And needes he must for me, for I had it not."
Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. I., cap. 11.

Toto much and toto earnest 98, 199

Very much. A common form of expression up to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It is found in Shakespeare, Braithwaite, &c.

Treen tankard—treen saucer... 101, 374

Wooden cup and wooden dish.

"Marcus Curius, the very rule & patterne of Fortitude and moderate liuing, whā the people, called Samnites, which had warres with the Romaynes, founde hym sytting in his house by the fire vpon a homely fourme, eatyng his meate in a *dyshe of tre*."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), *f.* 200.

"*Treen* dishes be homely, and yet not to lack,
Where stone is no laster, take tankard and jack."
Tusser's Husbandry (1812 Rep.) p. 260.

A tormentour 102

Appears to mean a gyant with a clubbe, but why I cannot say. Probably it can be proved to come from the Gaelic or Sanscrit, or some such language.

A good whistersnefet... 112

A good cuffe or blow, equivalent to the modern "clout o' th' head."

Sensible 113

Evident to the senses, or acting on the physical frame.

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"Happely." 115

Happened; that is, by chance or accident.

Athlias (ἄθλας) *with .a. and* ἄθλιος *in Greke, souneth one being in miserable state or condition, sore vexed or beaten with manifolde trauailes, peines and troubles* 115

From whence Athletæ and Athletics.

Hurlee burlee 115

Everybody knows that this means a big noise and how it is used in Shakespeare. It is only put here to show the early use of it. So far as I am aware, this is the first time it occurs. The edition of Shakespeare, 1803, vol. x. 13, quotes a passage from Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence*, 1577, as the first instance of the use of this expression; but here we find Nicholas Udall using it in 1543, thirty-four years before Peacham. Also in *More's Utopia*, 1551:—

"Or finally who be bolder stomaked to brynge all in *hurlie-burlie* (therby trustyng to get sum wyndfall) then they that haue nowe nothing to leese?"—*Raphe Robinson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, *sig. F. iij.*

Marchpaines or wafers with other like iunkerie, and their swete perfumes or pomaundres, and other semblable delices 116

Marchpanes were a kind of sweet cakes made with flour, almonds, sugar, &c. Wafers were probably different sorts of biscuits. Pomaunders were balls of perfumes, so called either because they were made into balls like apples, or because they were sometimes made of roasted apples, mixed with lard, musk, nutmegs, &c.

The orange which it was observed Cardinal Wolsey generally carried in his hand, and frequently smelt of when he went among the people, was undoubtedly a pomander. They were the mediæval "smelling bottles." Our ancestors appear to have been wonderfully fond of perfumes and spices of all kinds. Early literature abounds with references to them; and no wonder, when we consider the evil smells which must have resulted from their manner of living.

Characteristic anecdote of a priest and his "pointes." ... 117

"Beetes," "werishness" and "vnsauerines" of 118

Insipidity of. The same meaning is now expressed in Lincolnshire by "wally,"—"as wally as raw tates" (potatoes),—and the same comparison is implied in the expression about feeble-minded men, that "they want a bit o' salt to 'em."

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No man saying black is their eyen 118

Modernized into "No man can say black is the white of my eye."

Dawcockes, lowtes, cockescombes, and block-headed fooles 118

Various terms for ignorant and stupid fellows.

As wise as a gooce, or as his mother's apron string ... 118

Wede 119, 322

Dress; more particularly an outer garment, as a cloak. We still speak of a "widow's weeds."

Kembed, piked, decked all of the mynion tricke 120

Combed, dressed, and "rigged out" in the most fashionable style, like "regular swells."

Haggue 122

Seems to be used here in the same sense as "haggle." Most likely the old form of the modern "egg," "to egg on," to incite, to encourage.

An euil persone euen the verye mous dareth to snappe at. 123

Not always. Socrates and others do not hesitate to say quite contrary: the man threw a stone at Aristides because "he hated to hear him always called the just;" and some of us rather sympathise with him, for we often find "good" people extremely aggravating. If he had said "a person with an *evil name*, it would have been true enough, according to the modern proverb, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." But, as a rule, evil persons appear to be a good deal more popular than better ones. The proverb quoted at p. 367, "Like beareth favour to like," has ten times more truth in it.

Great gorrebealyed chuff 123

A great big-bellied, thick-headed fellow. This word continued in use until very recently; it occurs in several places in N. Bailey's translation of the *Colloquies of Erasmus* (1733), in *Tom-o-Bedlam*, Songs, &c.

Bougette 123

Budget: a small wooden box or case, generally covered with leather, in which women put their valuables, jewels, work, &c.; frequently carried on one hip, and confined round the waist by a leathern belt. It answered the same purpose as the modern satchell.

Bugges, and sprites, or goblins that walken by night 124

Something to frighten or annoy, still retained in bug-bear. The

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Bible printed by Day & Serres in 1549, gives Psalm xci. v. 5, as follows.

"So that thou shalt not need to be afrayd for any *bugges* by night, nor for the arrowe that flyeth by daye." *Becke's Bible.*

Hobgoblin or Collepixie 125

Collepixies, I believe, were black goblins, and were thought to haunt mines and other dark places.

Pastures or leasues 127

Leasowe is now gone out of use, although a good old English word. Readers of Shenstone will remember the Leasowes.

Brutish grosseness and dumping of the minde 128

Dumping here seems to mean dwarfing or deadening. A "dump" is a lump, whence "dumplings" which the Norfolk people are said to be fond of; and a "dumpy" person means a short aud clumsy one.

Coarcted 128

Prest or thrust.

Niggarde or hayn 56, 129

A mean and odious or hateful man.

Went daily to the potte, and were chopped vp 130

"To go to pot" is an every-day phrase.

Hercules, the depoulsour and driuer awaye of all euils 130

The repeller and driver away of evils.

When the stede is already stolen, shutte the stable dore; or when I am dead, make me a caudle 130

"When he the thynge may not amende
Than is he ware, and sayth at ende
A wolde god I hadde knowe
Whereof beiaped with a mowe
He goth, for whan the great stede
Is stole, than he taketh hede
And maketh *the stable dore fast.*"
Gower (1532) f. 68.

"He is unwise, and of prouision poore,
That nought can see before he haue damage,
When the stede is stolen to shet the stable doore,
Commeth small pleasure, profite, or vauntage."
Barclay's Ship of Fooles (1570 *ed.*) *f.* 25.

Couetousnese of money the metropolis of all evils ... 131

The place where all evils are conceived.

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Pangue or guierie of loue 131, 341

Guierie, from the French *guerre*, and here means worry, anxiety, pining.

Chare of good werke 132

We still call a woman who goes out to do occasional work at people's houses a "charwoman," although we have given over speaking of the work as a "char."

An hony brake, or a snare of honey 133

A "brake" is a place full of bushes, thorns, brambles, &c., where it would be difficult to get along on account of being held fast by the briars, &c. Often used in Shakespeare and the early dramatists.

Make no bones 133, 301

To make no difficulty; to do it without any ceremony.

Didymo 134

See the curious explanation in the text.

Nycibecetours, or denty dames 135

I am not able to explain this word, and have only met with one other instance of the use of it, and that is by the same author. It seems to mean fond, foolish, light or trifling.

"But with whome is he nowe so sadly rounding yond?
With *Nobs nicebecetour miserere* fonde."
N. Udall's Roister Doister, Act I., sc. iiij.

Of a woman who hung herself on an Olive tree ... 136

The modern version is: A farmer's wife having hung herself on an apple-tree, the widower was regularly pestered by applications from his neighbours for a "graft" of that tree.

For Diogenes loued no women in no sauce, but hated them deadly 137

"A woman which was vsyd and accustomyd to stryue, walked by the fylde with her husbonde, and he sayde the fylde was mowe downe, & she sayd it was shorn. And so they multyplyed so many wordis that at the laste her husbonde all to coryed her. But she wold not be styll, but sayd it was clyppid with sherys. Wherefore in a greate angir he cut owte her tonge. And whan she myght nomore speke, she made sygnes with her fyngers lyke sherys meaninge the filde was Clypped. A lyke tale is tolde of an other woman thewich stryuynge with her husbonde sayd he was lowsye. And he was mouyd and greuyd withe her for her sayng, and bete her greuously, but she wold not amend her. But came before all her neybouris and callyd hym so to his rebuke. Wherefore

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he was replete with ire and threwe her in to a water and trade on her and drownyd her. And whan she myght not speke, she lyfte vppe her hondeys and made tokyns with her thombys as though she kylled lyce. Wherefore it is wryttyn Ecclesiast. xxviii. Many haue fall by the stroke of sworde, but not lyke to them that haue be destroyd by the meanys of theyre tonges." —*Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed, cap.* xxx.

"Man aftir the saynge of the Philosofre is a mynde incarnate. A Fantasye of tyme. A beholder of lyfe. A Manciple of deth. A walker goynge. A dweller of a place. A laborious mynde. An habitacle of small tyme. A woman as saith the philosofre, is the confusyon of man. A beaste insaciable, a continuall besynesse. A batell neuer endid, mannis manciple & to a continent man destruccyon. As vppon a tyme it happid that a man which was clene & chaste desired to haue famylyarite & speche with a woman, wherby he fell to delectacyon & was cawght in the nettys of synne, and lyghtly loste the seale of chastitie & comytted dedly synne. For whan he attendyd vnto the swettenesse of her speche, and behyld the beawte of her face, he was ouercome & destroyde, & sayde.

Many mennys myndes for women be broke
And wounded sorer then with other strooke

Wherfor an Autowr spekyth & saith, A Woman is the fourme of synne, & condicyonyd dedly. Jherome saith, The gate of the Fende, The waye of wyckednesse. The strooke of the Serpente, Anoyable kynde is the woman. That same doctowr saith, The beawte of woman is lyke a brinninge sworde. Remembyr that Thamar was corrupte of her owne brodir, and euer remembyr that a woman put Adam from his possession, who was strenger than Samson, wyser then Salamon, more holy then dauyd, & all these were subuertid by women. It is wrytten Eccle: xxv, The oryginall of synne began of a woman, and all men suffir dethe, by the meanys of her, wherefore these olde Fadirs & philosofirs were very contynente & kepte them self chaste, as tellith Vigecius libro secundo, of the continence of Alexander, that whan a mayde of most excellent beawte was brought to him, which was wedded to an other prince, he sparyd her, & vtterly abstaynyd him self from her, In so moche that he wolde not see her, But sent her agayn to her husbond."—*Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed, cap.* cxxi.

The foregoing extracts from *Dialogues of Creatures* are fair specimens of the way in which women were spoken of by the grave and reverend fathers,—teachers of morality and religion,—in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hundreds such could be produced, but very few indeed where women are spoken of decently, much less respectfully. The Poets were their best friends. I am not sure that sufficient attention has ever been drawn to this. Yet the poets could be sufficiently uncomplimentary occasionally, as the following shows.

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"Ther nys, I wis, no serpent so cruel,
When men trede on his tail, ne half so fel,
As womman is, when sche hath caught an ire;
Vengeans is thanne all that they desire."

Chaucer—The Sompnoures Tale.

"The man who has a quiet house, has no wife." Certainly many of the Greek writers appear to have a great horror of matrimony, to which, perhaps, may be attributed the high colouring they give to the character of Xantippe, who was not, it is probable, so great a termagant as they have painted her, Some of their apothegms follow.

'*Mulier in ædibus atra tempestas viro.*'

A wife, like a tempest, is a perpetual disturbance to the house.

'*Incendit omnem feminæ zelus domum.*'

The restless spirit of the woman keeps the house in a perpetual flame; and

'*Muliere nil est pejus, atque etiam bonâ.*'

Nothing is worse than a woman, even than the best of them. 'It is better,' Solomon says, 'to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and angry woman;' and in another place, 'It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a brawling woman, and in a wide house. Montaigne has an observation equally satirical: '*The concern*,' he says, '*that some women shew at the absence of their husbands, does not arise from their desire of seeing and being with them, but from their apprehension that they are enjoying pleasures in which they do not participate, and which, from their being at a distance, they have not the power of interrupting.*'

"To finish the bad side of the picture, one more of our adages shall be given. 'To see a woman weeping,' we say, 'is as piteous a sight, as to see a goose go barefoot.'"—*Bland's Proverbs, Vol. II., pp.* 132-134.

Quidifical trifles that were al in the cherubins ... 139

Subtle trifles all in the clouds.

Tabletee and cupitee 139

The ideas or mental pictures of tables and cups.

Sorteitees and ecceitees 139

Pick you hence... 89, 143, 152, 210

To pitch, to throw, or to fling. "Pick you hence,"="Take yourself off," "Cut your stick."

Mastifes or tye dogges 143

"Tye dog" seems from a very early date, to have been a term for Mastiffs and other large dogs, which from their

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strength and fierceness were commonly kept fastened up. So Lydgate :—

"Than to represse thy surquedy at ones,
Cruel Orchus the *tye dogge* infernal,
Shal rend thy skin asunder from the bones."
Lydgate's Fall of Princes, (1558) *Bk. iii. cap. i.*

Litle mynxe ful of play 143

She-puppy. Now often used playfully to young girls.

Circuition, or going about the bushe... 146

To "go round the bush," and to "beat the bush" are very old sayings.

"One sleeth the dere with an hoked arowe ;
whose part is none yet of the venison,
one *beateth the bush*, another hath ye sparow
And all the byrdes in his possession :
one draweth his nettes in riuers vp & doun
with sundry baites cast out line and hooke,
and hath no part of all that euer he take."
Lydgate's Fall of Princes, f. 28.

Ryche cobbes 147

A jeering expression without any particular meaning.

Diogenes better contented to liue in Athenes with bread and cheese then with Craterus 147

"The pore man afore the theif doth sing
Under the wodes with fresh notes shrill,
the rych man ful fereful of robbing,
Quaking for dreade, rideth forth ful stil :
the pore at large goth where hym list at wyl,
Strogly fraunchised frō al debate & strife,
tho rich afeard alway to lese hys life."
Lydgate's Fall of Princes (1558) *Bk. iii., cap. i.*

It is all very well to look at the bright side of things, but it is very difficult to think either poets or anyone else quite believe all they say, when they sing *very* loudly in praise of poverty.

Lene craggues 147

"Scraggy," which is an usual term for leanness.

Ihon hold my staf 148

At his beck and call, subject to his caprice. A Flunky, or lick-spittle.

Plato found Diogenes washing salade herbes 148

Thus quaintly described by another old writer :—

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"Whan Aristipus had sayde to Dyogene y^t^ stoode & wasshyd wortys, O Dyogene if thou haddiste pleasyd y^e^ tyrante dyonyse with thi fayre woordes, thou shuldist not haue nedyd thus to do, truly quod he yf thou woldist do thus, thou shuldist not haue nede to flater y^e^ sayd tyraunte. For this philosofre had moche leuyr to be fedde and maynteynd with a messe of wortys & say trouth then to be fed with y^e^ kynges deyntis and to flater him or say to him other then trowth.—*Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed, cap.* 118.

Mocking: Erasmus says "when men doe mocke any body, thei wagge their handes vp and doune by their eares at the sides of their hed, and doe counterfeact the facion of an asses eares 149

Is this the "wagging" spoken of in the Gospels, where "they that passed by railed on Him, wagging their heads"?

Making mowes 149

Grimacing,—yet survives as "making mouths."

"But, al to litil, welawey the while!
Lastith such joy, ythanked be Fortune!
That seemith trusty whan she wole bygile,
And can to folis so her song entune,
That she hem hent, and blent, traitor commune!
And, whan a wight is from her whele ythrow,
Than lawghith she, and makith hym the *mow*."
Chaucer—Troylus and Cryseyde, Book III.. st. 1.

Nothing more goodlie or beautifull then Sapience, nothing than vertue more amiable... 149

"There is no man but approves of Virtue, though but few pursue it; we see where it is, but we dare not venture to come at it: and the reason is we over-value that which we must quit to obtain it."—*Seneca*, (1722), *p.* 146.

"Fond man! though all the heroes of your line
Bedeck your halls, and round your galleries shine,
In proud display; yet, take this truth from me,
Virtue alone is true nobility."
Gifford's Juvenal, Vol. I., p. 328.

A naughtie packe 152, 156

Not much different from the modern "good for nothing baggage," often applied to women.

"So many newes and knackes,
So many naughty *packes*,
And so many that mony lackes,
Saw I never:

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So many maidens with child
And wylfully begylde,
And so many places untilde
Sawe I never."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 150.

Scripture 153

Writing. Here is the word "Scripture" applied to secular writings after the Bible was translated into English.

Inquinate 153

Defiled, contaminated, unclean.

The bastard boy who threw stones into a crowd, and was told to cease, lest he might hit his father ... 155

Copied into innumerable Jest Books.

Paramours are the queens of kings 158

"Is not the king great in his power? do not all regions feare to touch him?

"Yet did I see him and Apame the King's concubine, the daughter of the admirable Bartacus, sitting at the right hand of the king.

"And taking the crowne from the king's head, and setting it vpon her owne head; she also strooke the king with her left hand.

"And yet for all this the king gaped and gazed vpon her with open mouth: if she laughed vpon him, he laughed also: but if she tooke any displeasure at him, the king was faine to flatter, that she might be reconciled to him againe.

"O ye men, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they doe thus?"

Authorised Version, (1611) I Esdras iv., 28—32.

Pipe merie 159

The first or good-humoured stage of drunkenness, similar to what we now hear called "market-merry" when farmers go home from market with sufficient extra beer in their skins to make them all smiles and good humour,—when they want to "stand treat" to all the old cronies they meet.

Gentilitee 160

Gentiles.

Diogenes said: If I counterfaict a Philosopher, euen that verie poinct is to be a Philosopher outright ... 160

This reminds one of the anecdote related by R. Ascham, of "one here in England" who "did folow Syr *Tho. More*: who being most vnlike vnto him, in wit and learnyng, neuertheless in wearying his gowne awrye vpon the one shoulder, as Syr.

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Tho. More was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke vnto him."—*Ascham's Scholemaster, Reprint, p.* 146.

It appears Diogenes meant, if he were not a Philosopher already, he was an admirer of them, and earnestly desirous of being one; and that to properly estimate the value of Philosophy and try to attain it was next to really having it.

Why do you live in the world if you have no regard to a virtuous life 163

——"Call to mind from whence ye sprang;
Ye were not formed to live the life of brutes,
But virtue to pursue, and knowledge high."
Dante, Inferno, c. xxvi., l. 115.

A sworde of lead out of an Ieuorie sheathe 163

"Will you say that's a good blade which hath a gilded scabbard, embroidered with gold and jewels? No, but that which hath a good edge and point, well tempered metal, able to resist."—*Seneca.*

Saucie or knappishe young springall... 165

A fast and "cheeky" young scapegrace.

Impetrate 158, 166

To accomplish.

Apertly 168

Plainly, openly, clearly. Diogenes did openly what Plato did secretly.

Hard by the prick 168

Close by the mark.

"In shootynge at buttes, or brode arowe markes, is a mediocritie of exercyse of the lower partes of the bodye and legges, by goinge a lytell dystaunce a mesurable pase. At rouers or *pryckes*, it is at his pleasure that shoteth, howe faste or softly he lysteth to go: and yet is the prayse of the shooter, neyther more ne lesse, for as farre or nyghe the marke is his arowe, whanne he goeth softly, as whan he renneth."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), *f.* 92.

Never to offend any one is nothing to a man's praise ... 174

"For the company or *communication* of a person familiar, whiche is alwaye pleasaunte and without sharpnes, inclinyng to inordinate fauour and affection, is alway to be suspected."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), *f.* 156.

Nedefull to haue, either feithfull frendes, or els eagre enemies 175

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Creansir 178

(French) a creditor or truster—here it means a governor or tutor.

"The Duke of York's *creauncer* whan Skelton was,
Now Henry the viij Kyng of Englonde,
A tratyse he deuysid and browght it to pas,
Callid Speculum Principis, to bere in his honde."
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 411.

Pestre and cloy 179

Plague or tease and spoil all relish. "Pestered and heltered up" is an expression often heard. "Heltered up" is not fastened up, as with a halter, but = incommoded and "hampered." "Heeltrees" are the pieces of wood fixed amidst the horses of a team, between the heels of one and the chest of the next, to keep the chain traces by which they draw such a distance apart that they shall not chafe their sides: when the team is unyoked, these "heeltrees," unless thrown on the backs of the horses, hang down on their heels and cause them to step short and gingerly—if they are quiet,—to kick, if they are irritable. So a good woman troubled with a lot of children in her house, on a rainy day (say) will crossly observe: "I am pestered and heltered up wi' a pack o' bairns, this mucky owry weather."

Sentence 181

Judgment, feeling, opinion, or decision.

"And you, that do read Plato, as ye shold, do well perceiue, that these be no Questions asked by Socrates, as doutes, but they be *Sentences*, first affirmed by Socrates, as mere trothes, and after, giuen forth by Socrates, as right Rules."—*Ascham's Scholemaster (Arber's Rpt.), p.* 43.

Cockeryng 182

"Some *cockneys* with *cocking*, are made very fools,
Fit neither for 'prentice, for plough, nor for schools."
Tusser (1812 Rp.) p. 276.

"Cocker thy childe, and hee shall make thee afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heauiness.—*Ecclesiasticus*, xxx. 9, *Authorised Version*, 1611.

"A woman of nobilitiee brought vp in the Courte of a king, where Fortune commonly nourceth, *cockereth*, and pampereth hir derlynges."—*Paraphrase of Erasmus, 2nd leaf of preface to Luke.*

Vnquod 182, 289

Untold, unsaid.

"A married man and yet—*quod* Chaucer.
A merry man, *quod* Wat.
He is a knave that wrote me that, *quod* Chaucer."

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Hucclebones 185

A game played principally by children, with the little square bones from the feet of sheep and pigs. The manner of it is fully explained in the small-type note, at p. 186.

"Gresed and annoynted
Vp to the knockles;
The bones of her *huckels*,
Lyke as they were with buckels
Togyther made fast
Her youth is farre past."
Dyce's Skelton (Elynour Rummyng), Vol. I., p. 96.

In his Glossary, Dyce has wrongly described "huckels" as hips: the above passage in Erasmus proves them to be ankles, which makes sense of the passage in Skelton. It means that from old age, &c., she moved stiffly, as though her ankles (not her hips) were tied together, as cows are "hoppled" to keep them quiet while being milked, or to keep them from breaking over the fences into other fields.

Remercies 185

Thanks.

Not worth a blewe point or a good lous 187

"Points" were laces and strings in the days of our forefathers. A "blue point" was evidently a very cheap affair; perhaps made of cruel or worsted. See note on p.

Neither barrel better herring 187

They were "much of a muchness." The proverb in the text was most likely familiar to Erasmus in his native place. It "smells" of Rotterdam.

Gold masters all things 188

"'Money masters all things.' All things obey, or are subservient to money, it is therefore the principal object of our attention. 'Sine me vocari pessimum, ut dives vocer,' call me what you will, so you do but admit me to be rich. 'Nemo an bonus: an dives omnes quærimus." When about to treat with or enter into business with any one, we do not so much inquire whether he is a good, as whether he is a rich man; 'Nec quare et unde? quid habeat, tantum rogant,' nor by what means he acquired his money, but only how much he actually possesses. 'Gifts,' we say, 'break through stone walls,' for what virtue is proof against a bribe? 'He that has money in his purse, cannot want a head for his shoulders.' That is, he will never want persons to advise, assist, and defend him. 'It is money that makes the mare to go.' 'Por dinero bayla el perro,' the dog dances for money; and 'Quien

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dinaro tiene, hazo lo que quiere,' he that has money may have what he pleases. 'Plate sin with gold, and the strong arm of justice cannot reach it; clothe it in rags, a pigmy straw will pierce it.' Volpone, in the comedy of that name, addressing his gold, says

'Such are thy beauties, and our loves, dear saint,
Riches! thou dumb god, that giv'st all men tongues;
That canst do naught, and yet mak'st men do all things;
The price of souls; even hell, with thee to boot,
Is made worth heaven. Thou art virtue, fame,
Honour, and all things else. Who can get thee,
He shall be noble, valiant, honest, wise.'

On the other hand, we are told, that Fortune makes those whom she most favours fools; 'Fortuna nimium quem favet stultum facit,' and 'Ubi mens plurima, ibi minima fortuna,' those who abound in knowledge are usually most deficient in money. It has also been observed, that riches excite envy, and often expose the possessors of it to danger: the storm passes over the shrub, but tears up the oak by its roots. 'God help the rich,' we say, 'the poor can beg.'

'Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator,'

the thief who makes the rich man to tremble, excites no alarm in the breast of the beggar; he has nothing to lose.

'Hence, robbers hence, to yonder wealthier door,
Unenvied poverty protects the poor.

'Non esse cupidum, pecunia est, non esse emacem, vectigal est,' not to be covetous, to desire riches, is wealth; not to be extravagant or expensive, is an estate. Hence poverty has been called, the harbour of peace and security, where undisturbed sleep and undissembled joys do dwell. 'Fidelius rident tuguria,' the laughter of the cottage is more hearty and sincere than that of the court: great wealth therefore conduces but little to happiness: and 'as he who hath health is young; so he who owes nothing is rich.' 'Dantur quidem bonis, ne quis mala estimet; malis autem, ne quis nimis bona,' riches are given to the good, St. Austin says, that they may not be esteemed an evil; to the bad, that they may not be too highly valued."—*Bland's Proverbs, Vol. I., p. 78.*

"*Court. Ab.* Money maketh marchauntes, I tell you, over all.
Magn. Why, wyl a maystres be wonne for money and for golde?
Court. Ab. Why, was not for money Troy bothe bought and
Full many a stronge cyte and towne hath ben wonne [solde?
By the meanes of money without ony gonne.
A maystress, I tell you, is but a small thynge;
A goodly rybon, or a golde rynge.
May wynne with a sawte the fortresse of the holde;
But one thynge I warne you, prece forth and be bolde."
Magn. Ye, but some be full koy and passynge harde harted.
Court. Ab. But, blessyd be our Lorde, they wyll be sone conuerted.

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Magn. Why, wyll they then be intreted, the most and the lest?

Court. Ab. Ye for *omnis mulier meretrix, si celari potest.*

Dyce's Skelton (Magnyfycence), Vol. I., p. 277.

"Riches (said *Luther)* is the smallest thing on earth, and the least gift that God hath bestowed on mankinde; What is it in comparison of God's Word? yea, what is it to bee compared with corporeal gifts; as beautie, health, *&c.* nay, what is it to the gifts of the minde; as understanding, Art, wisdom? *&c.* yet are men so eager upon it, that no labor, travail, nor danger is regarded in getting of Riches: there is in it neither *Materialis, formalis, efficiens & finalis caussa,* nor anie thing els that good is, therefore our Lord God commonly giveth Riches to such gross Asses, to whom hee affordeth nothing els that is good.—*Luther's Colloquies,* 1652, p. 90.

He had not the witte to cal a spade by any other name 189

We have much improved since then. It is now a "tool," or an "agricultural implement."

Beare any rule, stroke or authoritte ... 190, 370

Use, exercise, possess or prevail; as Judas who had the bag: *bare* what was put therein, which means more than he carried it. "To bear the stroke" is sometimes explained, to be in subjection, or at a disadvantage, which is directly contrary to the truth; if there were any doubt about it, the synonyms with which it is associated in the above sentence would show the true meaning. "To *bear* the stroke" is not to suffer the stroke; but to *bear* (or have) the upper hand, or as we say, "to have the whip hand of him."

"But where the mighty may,
Of force the weak constrain;
It will be wisely done, to bow,
To 'scape a further pain:
Like as in tempest great,
Where wind *doth bear the stroke,*
Much safer stands the bowing reed,
Than doth the stubborn oak."

Tusser (1812 *Reprint*), *p.* 213.

To have the overhand 191, 216

Or "upperhand" as is commonly said. This generally means the same as "to bear the stroke."

Happely, ... 192

"Happe helpeth hardy men alway, quod he."

Chaucer—Legende of goode Women.

Beleue the moone to be made of a grene chese ... 193

The earliest instance known to me of this saying.

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To preuente the tyme of death... 193

That is, to be beforehand with death. This use of the word is in accordance with its root meaning; other examples may be found in the Bible and Prayer Book.

"Wisedome is glorious and neuer fadeth away: yea she is easily seene of them that loue her, and found of such as seeke her.

"She *preuenteth* them that desire her, in making herselfe first knowen vnto them."—*Bk. of Wisdom*, v. 12, 13, *(Authorised Version*, 1611*)*.

Vntraded in philosophie 194

Unpractised.

Nousled 194

Nurtured, brought up.

Yalle & rore 195

"The power of magike is banished away and gon: the euill spirites are cast out that thei *owle and rore* agayn: philosophie hath confessed her ignoraunce."—*Erasmus' Paraphrase 5th leaf of preface to Luke.*

Guile dooeth at a time auauntage to a man a good pot of wine 195

And so it continues to do.

To greace the handes of him that geueth the office ... 195

This also is a practice not altogether unknown in modern days.

A man who dyed his hair not fit to govern 195

A very good reason. The man's dyeing his hair showed a a very little mind and a tendency to dishonesty: yet Julius Cæsar rejoiced to wear the laurel crown, chiefly because it hid his bald head.

Toke peper in the nose 198, 328

To take offence.

"For ther are ful proude herted men,
Pacient of tonge
And buxome as of berynge
To burgeises and to lordes,
And to poore peple
Han *pepir in the nose*
And as a lyoun he loketh."
Wright's Piers Ploughman, Vol. II., p. 307.

"But speke ye no more of that
For drede of the red hat
Take peper in the nose:
For than thyne heed of gose."
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. II., p. 38.

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"Shall Presbyterian bells ring Cromwell's praise,
While we stand still and do no Trophies raise
Unto his lasting name? Then may we be
Hung up like bells for our malignity:
Well may his *Nose*, that is dominical,
Take pepper in't, to see no Pen at all
Stir to applaud his merits."

A. Brome's Poems (1664) *p.* 326.

To stierre coles (or take peper in the nose) 328

"For lowly life withstandeth enuy quite,
As floating ship, by bearing sail a-low,
Withstandeth storms, when boisterous winds do blow.

Thy usage thus, in time shall win the goal.
Though doubtful haps, dame Fortune sends between;
And thou shalt see thine enemies *blow the coal*:

Tusser (1812 *Rp.*) *p.* 312.

Correption 200

Chiding, scolding.

Fortune beying theim bothe good ladie 200

Sely 201

Innocent, without guile, a very common word with early writers: the opposite—*unsely*, is more rarely met with.

"And when he stode
The kynge hath asked of hym thus
Sey thou *vnsely* Lucius
Why hast thou done this sacrilege?"

Gower (1532) *f.* 123.

A shame for a Prince to have a good sight in Musick 201

Kynge Philip, whan he harde that his sonne Alexander dydde synge swetely and proprely, rebuked hym gentylly, sayinge, But Alexander, be ye not ashamed, that ye can synge so well and connyngly? wherby he mente, that the open profession of that craft was but of a base estimation. And that it suffysed a noble man, hauing therin knowlege, eyther to vse it secretelye, for the refreshynge of his wytte, whan he hath time of solace: orels onely herynge the contention of noble musicyens, to gyue iugement in the excellẽcie of their conninges."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), *f.* 22.

Fooles paradise 202, 342

An early instance of the use of this phrase, which is so great a favourite with Mr. Gladstone.

Thom trouth, or plain Sarisbuirie 202

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In eche man's bote would he haue an ore 203

Busy, meddlesome. We now say, "He would have a finger in everybody's pie."

Squintyied he was, and looked nyne wayes 203

Modern "roughs" say "he looks nine ways for Sunday."

Euery pater noster whyle 205

A littte while;—the time one might say a Pater-noster.

Flounced me 207

A singular application of this vulgar term. The meaning now attached to the word is rather uncomplimentary. To "flounce" is to "pop in" suddenly or impudently, unexpectedly: more particularly applied to women who "put their noses" in where they are not wanted. Such an one taking a seat uninvited, would be contemptuously described as "flouncing" into a chair.

Greate aud bowerly images 208

Big, this may mean burly, or, possibly, ornamental, decorative, fit for a lady's bower.

Pastlers 208

Makers of pastry.

Habbe or nhabbe 209

To "nab" and "grab" are now vulgarisms meaning to catch hold of hastily, unexpectedly, or dishonestly. "Hab or nab" here seems to mean—to have or not have.

Agnise... 212, 271

Acknowledge, confess.

Litle, litle 213, 307

Very little. "Preaty little," often used in this book, seems to be synonymous.

Billed 214, 255

Described in writing or printing. We yet have "hand-bills," "sale-bills," &c.

Dicion 225, 256, 285

Power, rule.

Bickered 228

Snarling, sparring, quarrelling.

"Yf thou say nay, we two shal make a byker."
Chaucer's Legende of Goode Women.

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Pointe deuise 229

With the greatest exactness.

Gardeuiaunce 229

Travelling box.

The noise of the marching of a great host, as "the roumbling noyse rebounding from a ferre, as it had been the roring of the sea" 230

This is a fine pictorial passage. The iteration and alliteration produce a fine effect. It reminds one of a couple of passages in *Chaucer's House of Fame.*

A long bible 230

A reference to text will make it evident that formerly "Bible" simply meant a book, whether written or printed. The fact that even the earliest translation of the Scriptures was termed the "Holy" Bible seems partly designed to distinguish it from other bibles (books.)

When Alexander heard Anaxagoras mainteining that there wer worldes out of noumbre, the reporte goeth, that he fell on weping 231

The following anecdote connected with the ambition of Alexander is so good that it is a pity not to insert it; it is therefore given from the quaint version of the *Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed,* which was first printed by Gerard Leu at Gouda in 1482. The extracts in this Appendix are from the English edition without name or date, but supposed to have been printed by Rastall about 1530.

"It is rede in the historye of Alexandre where it is shewid y^{t} a sertayne person had so greuously offendyd Alexander that he wold not forgeu hym. Aristotle that knowing went to Alexander and sayde my lorde I will that thys daye thow salt be more victoryous then euir thou were. Alexandyr answered and sayde. I wyl. Then sayde Aristotle. Thou haste subduyd all the kyngdomys of the worlde, but now this daye thou arte ouercome. For and thou be not ruler of thy self then arte thou rulyd. And if thou rule thi self then arte thou victorious, for he that ouercomith hym self is most stronge as saith the philosofre. Alexandre herynge the saynge of Aristotle, Remyttyd the offence done and was pleasid. Wherfore it is wryttyn. Prouerb. xvi. Better is a pacyent man than a stronge man. And he that hath domynacyn ouir himself then a geter of citees &c."—*Dialogues of Creatures, v.*

Forefendeth and debarreth 238

Wards off or bars out.

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All thynges wer leeful for kinges to do 239, 252

Antigonius made a fine reply when he answered the time-server, "By Jupiter, and so they be for the kings of savages and barbarians, but not for us who know what is honest and just." It was also a noble rebuke he gave to his son, who had been using more fierceness and roughness than was necessary: "Son, art thou ignorant that our state of reigning or being king is a servitude faced or set out with dignitee or worship?" Set the manliness of this beside the prostration of the following:—

"A king may spille, a king may save,
A king may make a lord a knave
And of a knave a lord also,
The power of a king stont so
That he the lawes overpasseth
What he will make less he lesseth
What he will make more he moreth."
Gower (1532) *f.* 152.

Hugger mugger 240

One of the earliest, if not the very earliest, examples of the use of this phrase.

A ruttocke... 173, 241

A staff, or, may-be, something equivalent to the modern "spittle-staff," which elderly gentlemen in provincial towns may often be seen walking with.

Cunne by herte 243

To get by heart, to know by heart, to commit to memory.

Peinted termes 243

Wordy, flourishing, pretentious language.

Although "painted" appears generally to have meant someting offensive, it was not always so; at times it merely meant described, represented, or set out, as in the following passage in Latymer:—

"The true honor of a king is most perfectly mentioned and *painted* forth in the scriptures."—*Latymer's Sermons*, 1578, *f.* 31 *verso*.

Smellen all of the inkehorne 243

"As if a wise man would take *Halles* Chronicle, where moch good matter is quite marde with Indenture Englishe, and first change, strange and *inkhorne* tearmes into proper and commonlie vsed wordes.—*Ascham's Scholemaster, Arber's Reprint*, *p.* 111.

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Quauemoire 249

A very capital word, much better than its modern representative, quagmire.

Choploges or greate pratlers 250

Word-splitters (jesters), and great talkers.

The custom of keeping fools and jesters in great men's houses, remarks upon 37, 250

Many allusions to this custom, once almost general with all men of rank and fashion, will doubtless be remembered by our readers. At any rate, everyone will recollect Shakespeare's fools, which were certainly drawn from life. Of them, one of Shakespeare's commentators says: "The originals whom he copied were no doubt men of quick parts; lively and sarcastick. Though they were licensed to say anything, it was still necessary, to prevent giving offence, that every thing they said should have a playful air: we may suppose therefore that they had a custom of taking off the edge of too sharp a speech by covering it hastily with the end of an old song, or any glib nonsense that came to the mind. I know no other way of accounting for the incoherent words with which Shakspeare often finishes his fools' speeches."

Fools and jesters were not only witty in themselves, but also the cause of wit in others, for as Chaucer has well observed:—

"A whetston is no kervyng instrument,
But it makith sharpe kervyng tolis.
.
Thus oght wyse men beware by folis;
If so thou do thy wit is wele bywaryd;
By his contrarie is every thing declarid."
Troylus and Creyside, Bk. I.

More, the great friend of Erasmus, kept a fool, whom, when he resigned his chancellorship, he gave to the Lord Mayor of London.

Toodle loodle bagpipe, moche after the facion of fooles, soche as are exhibited in Morice daunces, &c. ... 250

There is no doubt whatever the bagpipe was once a popular instrument in England. There are frequent references to it in Chaucer and other early writers. Every one will remember Shakespeare's allusion to the "drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe" *(Hen. IV., Act I., s. 2.)* which may mean the croaking of frogs, or may not. At any rate, I have lived in the county more than fifty years, without ever hearing a frog croak, that I know of; but there is a carved figure of a fox

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with a bagpipe, under one of the Misereries in the chancel of St. Botolph's, Boston, supposed to have been there nearly 500 years, which is some evidence that the Lincolnshire people were acquainted with other bagpipes than frogs.

Curious boxes or cabinets, in great men's houses, fashioned in the shape of fooles and other grotesque characters, which opened and shewed something quite contrary, or as remarkable for beauty as the outer case was for deformity 250

Perill of his beste iointe 251

A quaint way of saying he was in danger of losing his head.

Linne pratyng 253

Cease talking.

All too poumleed with his handes 257

He "pitched into him," gave him a sound thrashing.

Curiovs furniture of edifiying 260, 264

Particular or exact manner of building. This needs no explanation, but it is an instance of change in the fashion of using words; for although a building is yet an "edifice," we never now hear of "edifying" a building; but we do hear of edifying people by instruction, discourse, &c.

Stick and stone 261

It is curious to observe how long this phrase has been current. No doubt it has come from very early times, when houses were literally built of sticks and stones.

To geue a penie to an Elephant 261

This was a very good, humourous and pleasant comparison of Augustus Cæsar's.

Craked 263, 341

"And he that alway thretnyth for to fyght
Oft at the profe is skantly worth a hen
For greatest *crakers* ar not ay boldest men."
Barclay's Ship of Fooles, p. 198, *Rp.*

Anecdote of Augustus Cæsar and a crooked man ... 263

Afterwards told of Pope, in nearly the same words.

Eared vp his father's grave... 264

Ploughed up.

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"I have, God wot, a large feeld to *ere*
And wayke ben the oxen in my plough."
Chaucer, Knight's Tale.

"Vpon a tyme ther was a comyn laborer that *eryd* a felde intendinge to sow it. But the oxen *eryd* not soo wele as they were wonde to doe, but wyncyd & made recalcitracyon with all ther power, wherfore the plouman bete them and pricked them sore. The oxen cried owt agayn him and sayde. Thou cursyd creature why betyst thou vs that euer haue bene seruiceable to the. To whome he sayde. I desire to *ere* vp this fylde to maynteyne bothe me and yowe, and ye lyste not to laboure. The oxen answerde. We wyll not *ere* this felde, for the pasture is good and it fedeth vs delycyowslye, and therefore we shall resiste to our powris. But forasmoche as thi were faste yockyd togider, and myghte not departe, the husbondman punysshed them with prickynge and sore strokys, and so they were fayne to obeye with humblyte, and sayde

Bettyr it is for loue, good seruice to do
than for drede thanklesse be compellyd therto."
Dyalogues of Creatures, xcvi.

Harroe or to visite, as we saie that Christe harroed hel, and visited hel 265

"I conjure thé, Phillip Sparow,
By Hercules that hell did *harow.*
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 412.

"Harrow" is generally supposed to be derived from "haro," a war-cry of the Normans. In the middle ages, Christ's descent into hell to fetch out the imprisoned spirits, was called "the harrowing of Hell" by which we now understand was meant the "despoiling of Hell.' But Udall's note seems to imply that it meant "to visit"; and in Lancashire at the present day, "areawt" (which may be formed from "harrow") means "to go out" or "to be out." To be "harrowed" is a good Lincolnshire word in every-day use, meaning to be thoroughly tired or "knocked up." "He's clean harrăd" is there a very usual expression for any one dead beaten or unable to accomplish an undertaking. It is said of horses on a hard journey, when they need a deal of whip to get them along. A man will remark at such times:—"We've hed a rare job to get hoăm; the roăds are so 'evy, and it's sich a long pull, th' owd oss is clean harrăd."

Dandiprat 277

Certainly means a small coin in this passage, although now it is generally used as a term of contempt, for a mean, insignificant little fellow.

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Vndiscretly or harebrainlike 266

"Hairbrain" and "as mad as a March hare" yet common enough. March-hare is *Marsh*-hare; and from the flatness and bareness of marshes, which are almost destitute of shelter, hares are there peculiarly wild and hard to get a shot at.

Cotidian, or ordinarie fare 268

Quotidian. Every-day fare.

Solares, or loftes of the house 269

Or upper chamber, from the Latin *solarium*.

"Forasmuche as he [Paul] was purposed the nexte day to departe thence, he continued so preachyng vnto them vntyll it was ferre fourthe nyghte. And least that night might haue bene occasion to breake of this delectable and pleasaunt sermon, there were manye candelles in the *sollare* where as we were than assembled. Emong the multitude there was a certayne young man, whose name was Eutichus, that sate in one of the *wyndores*.* This young man by reason that Paule continued talkyng so long, wexed slepie, and at the last so sore came the slepe vpon hym, that he feel flatlyng downe to the grounde thre floores hyghe. . . . Whan as Paule perceyued that, he came downe. . . . and sayde: be ye nothyng troubled with this chaunce, there is yet lyfe in hym. . . . When he had thus comforted them, he went agayne into the *soler*."—*Paraphrase of Erasmus, Acts, f.* 68.

Biddles (beadles) why so called 269

The explanation in the text may be new to some.

Anecdote of Augustus, who wished to have the bed of the knight, who was much in debt, and yet could sleep .. 171

Since told of innumerable persons. Another proof of "nothing new under the sun."

Propice 140, 272, 330

Convenient.

Ragman's Rewe, or bille 273

The Devil's roll or paper. This term has been described before, at p. 411.

"Venus whiche stant without lawe
In none certayne, but as men drawe
Of *Ragman vpon the chaunce*
She leyth no peyse in the balance,

* See note on p. 423.

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But as her lyketh for to weye
The trewe man full ofte awey
She put, whiche hath her grace bede
And set an vntrue in his stede."
Gower (1532) *f.* 187.

It is no matter of iape to write rimes on that persone in whose handes it lieth to write a man out of all that euer he hath 273

"A man owith to beware to assocyate hym self with his bettyrs, for he shall euyer be put to the worse parte, as it is sayde in a commune prouerbe. I counsell not seruauntis to ete Churyes with ther bettyrs. Fer they wyl haue the Rype and leue them the harde."—*Dialogues of Creatures, xx.*

"*Songe of the Frere and the Nunne with other semblable merie iests*" *sang at Weddings and other feastynges* 274

Perhaps the coarseness of manner in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was nowhere more conspicuous than at weddings. The rough horse-play and brutal jests then indulged in are thus alluded to by Coverdale:—

"Early in the morning the wedding people begin to exceede in superfluous eating and drinking, whereof they spit, untill the half sermon be done. And when they come to the preaching, they are halfe dronken; some altogether; therefore regard they not the preaching nor prayer, but stand there only because of the custome. Such folks also do come into the church with all maner of pomp and pride, and gorgeousness of raiment and jewels. They come with a great noyse of basons and drooms, wherewith they trouble the whole church. And even as they come to the church, so go they from the church again; light, nice, in shamefull pompe and vaine wantonnes." Fol. 58, rev.—9.

"After the banket and feast, there beginneth a vaine, mad, and unmanerly fashion; for the *bride* must be be brought into an open dauncing place. Then there is such a running, leaping and flinging among them; that a man might think all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them, and were become starke mad and out of their wits, and that they were sworne to the devil's daunce. Then must the poore bride keepe foote with all dauncers, and refuse none, how scabbed, foule, dronken rude, and shameles soever he be! Then must she oft tymes heare and see much wickednes, and many an uncomly word. And that noyse and romblyng endureth even tyll supper."

"As for *supper*, looke how much shamles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is used at the supper. After supper,

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must they begin to pipe and daunce again of anew. And though the *young persons* (being weary of the babling noyse and inconvenience,) come once towards their rest, yet can they have no quietness! For a man shall find unmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates—that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the uttermost!" Fol. 59 rev. 60.—*Coverdale's Christian State of Matrimony* (1575).

The words of the Friar and the Nun are now lost, which probably is something to be thankful for, as from various allusions to it by writers of the period, it was evidently a most abominable filthy song.

Trimme as a trencher 276

A proverbial saying which may still be heard occasionally, in the country, although trenchers have almost entirely disappeared. A new trencher, neatly turned out of sycamore wood, had a particularly clean and wholesome appearance.

Snapshare... 279

Got by chance, or out of the ordinary way.

Square and disagree 284

Although "*out* of square" means to disagree (see p. 428), "to square" here means the same; "squaring" and "to square up to him" are pugilistic terms.

Hasten faire and softely 286

"Now loke that thow attempre be thy bridil,
And for the best ay suffre to the tyde,
Or ellis al our labour is on ydil;
He hastith wel, that wisely can abyde;
Be diligent and trew, and alwey hide,
Be lusty, fre, persevere in thy servise,
And al is wel if thow work on this wise."
Chaucer, Troylus and Cryseyde, Bk. 1, *p.* 50.

Enbraked and Hampered 286

"Enbraked here evidently means fastened or shut up in a strait place. The following passage from the *Paraphrase of Erasmus* seems to prove that a "brake" was not only a place full of bushes and shrubs, but also enclosed or fenced round:—

"As touchying myne owne stile in this present weorke, if I should be so streightly examined, I am (as the Greke prouerbe saieth) in lyke case as a man y^t^ should hold fast a woulf by both eares. For if he hold him still, he hath a shrewe in handleyng & cannot so continue euer: if he leat hym goe, he

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is in ieoperdie: so should I in this matter stande in a *streight brake*, either to incur suspicion of arrogancie if I maintaine myne owne. or els must I be driuen to graunte an errour where perchaunce none is."—*6th leaf of Preface to Luke.*

Surcease his maugre 289

To restrain his spite.

Tooke in good gree 289

In good part.

Patished 293

No meane thing could be enough... 293

No moderate thing.

First chop 293, 300, 330

"Against y^e^ philosophie Evangelicall beeyng yet but tendre and euen but newely spryngyng vp, the world arose at the *first chop* with all his force and power."—*Erasmus' Paraphrase, 5th leaf of Preface to Luke.*

Ruling the roste, & bearyng all the stroke 294

"Bearing the stroke" has been explained, p. 445. "Ruling the roast" is, it is hardly necessary to say, the chief seat at the dinner table.

> "*He ruleth all the roste*
> With braggynge and with bost;
> Borne vp on euery syde
> With pompe and with pryde,
> With, trompè vp, Alleluya.
> *Dyce's Skelton, Vol. II., p.* 33.

Water his plantes... 296

A quaint figure of speech for shedding tears "Water your *cheekes*" is used in *Latymer's Sermons* (1578) *4th page of Introductory Epistle.*

A beggerie little toun of cold roste in the mountaine ... 297

This is a very unusual comparison for anything mean or contemptible: as mean as cold meat or broken victuals.

Julius Cæsar would rather be the first man in a small town than the second man in Rome 297

So Milton:—

> "Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven."
> *Paradise Lost.*

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He would cast no more peniworthes in the matter ... 298

That is, he would spend no more time in counting the cost; he would no longer calculate or hesitate.

To be a man or a mouse... 298

Yet a very common phrase.

To set all on sixes and seuens 298

He would trust to chance, as a man does who plays at dice.

"I may breake a dish there. And sure I shall
Set all at sixe and seven, to win some windfall."
(*Heywood's Proverbs, Part I., Cap.* 11.

Spare, slender skragges 300

"Skraggy" is yet a common term for leanness.

With their five Eggs 303

This was rather a common Proverb in the 16th century, and has never been explained, but it evidently means a silly rumour, equivalent to "mare's nest." "*Will you take eggs for money?*" belongs to the same family.

"Whyles another gyeuth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restore vnto hym hys owne kyngdome of Nauarra as a full assurance of peace. An other *cummeth in wyth hys v. egges*, and aduyseth to howke in the kynge of Castell."—*Raphe Robynson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, sig. E, vi.

"One sayd; a well favoured olde woman she is;
The divell she is, saide another; and to this,
In came the third, with his *five egges*, and sayde;
Fiftie yere a goe I knew her a trym mayde."
Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. ii., cap. i.

———"Mine honest friend
Will you take eggs for money?
Mam. No, my lord, I'll fight.
Winter's Tale, i. 2.

Simon Fish in his *Supplication for the Beggars*, written about 1530, and ably edited by Mr. Furnival for the Early English Text Society, mentions six proverbs relating to the injuries caused by keeping so many sheep, the last of which is: "*The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny*.—By reason cottages go downe in the contre, where as pultrye was wont to be breade and fedde, nowe there is nothynge kept there but shepe, which cause the *egges to be solde for fower a penny*." So it is very likely they had been previously sold five for a penny. "Do you want a pen'orth of eggs to-day?" or "Do you want

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five eggs to-day?" would be a regular and constant cry. And the "bit o' gossip" between buyer and seller no less regular; and who so full of silly tales and tittle-tattle as the ignorant woman, going from door to door, chatting with the servants, and gathering all the floating rumours and scandal? until "to come in with five eggs" became a figure of speech for doubtful rumours or busy medlers.

"*Will you take eggs for money?*" is another allusion to the habits of the poultry-women or farmers' wives. There has been a wonderful change in this class the last 40 or 50 years. It is in the memory of many when well-to-do farmers' wives and daughters lent a helping hand at busy seasons—at hay-time, and harvest, and when the poultry-yards and dairies were almost entirely attended to by them. When they went to market, *a basket of eggs* was one of their most frequent charges and in making their purchases at various shops the tradesman would often be asked "to take eggs for money" to a certain extent; especially when the sum to pay left an "oddment," such as 4d. or 8d. In such cases there would be a dialogue something like the following: "What did you say the 'markettings' (shopkeepers' goods) come to?" "Twelve shillings and eightpence, if you please." "Well, there's twelve shillings; you'll take eggs for the oddment?" "Yes, I don't mind." So the woman not only got rid of her eggs, but often made a little more than the market price of them. Small purchases often were, and are now, made entirely with eggs. "You'll take eggs for money?" was not always a pleasant remark to a shopkeeper's ears: because he frequently had to take them above their market value, and when he did not want them, or risk offending a good customer.

Cry creake... 306

As a duck, when alarmed or hurt;—equivalent to the modern provincialism, "He made him quack."

"Great fines so near did pare me,
Great rent so much did scare me,
Great charge so near did dare me,
That made me at length cry *creak*."
Tusser (1812 Reprint) p. vi.

"Make maid to be cleanly, or make her cry *creak*;
And teach her to stir, when her mistress doth speak."
Tusser's Husbandry (1812 Rp.) p. 251

Sokingly 309

Gradually, little by little, as water "soaks" into the ground.

Tyme of weapon and lawes is not al one 309

That is, in time of war, it is sometimes necessary "to stretch a point." (By-the-bye, is the "point" in this familiar saying

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one of the "blue-points" referred to at p. 414? I think it is, and that it means to tie more loosely, or to allow more latitude.)

Cæsar when landing in Africa, fell as he went out of the ship, which chance he turned to the better part and said "I haue thee fast in my hands, O Africa!" 310

A similar tale is told of William the Conqueror when he landed in England, as every school-boy knows.

Philip and cheinie 311

Equivalent to a mere mob or rabble; tag-rag and bob-tail.

"Loiterers I kept so many
Both *Philip*, Hob, *and Cheany*.
That, that way nothing geany,
Was thought to make me thrive."
Tusser (1812 Reprint) p. vi.

More propense 313, 314

Had more propensity to; or was more inclined and disposed to.

To cry at the high crossse 316

To talk of openly at the market-place, which often had a tall cross in the centre of a raised platform, with six or eight rows of steps on every side, on which the market women set themselves with their baskets and goods, and from which public announcements were made.

Talked at rouers 320

At random, as the following passage shows most conclusively:

"And out of these haue I pieked suche puinctes as semed to be moste effectuall and moste helping to the feith, and to the deuout godlynesse of the ghospell: not geuying it a slendre litell touch here & there as it were *at rouers*, and as men gather floures here and there one at auenture as thei come to hand: but folowyng the ordre of the tyme and the due course or proccsse of matiers."—*Paraphrase of Erasmus, Luke, f.* 2.

The "people" seldom led by reason, and never to be relied on... 163, 324

"O stormy people, unsad and ever untrewe,
And undiscret, and chaunging as a fane,
Delyting ever in rombel that is newe,
For lik the moone ay wax ye and wane;
Ay ful of clappyng, dere y-nough a jane,* [* a farthing]
Youre doom is fals, your constaunce yvel previth,
A ful gret fool is he that on you leevith."
Chaucer,—The Clerke's Tale, Vol. II., p. 154.

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"Popular errors are more nearly founded upon an erroneous inclination of the people; as being the most deceptable part of mankind, and ready with open arms to receive the encroachments of Error. They commonly affect no man any further than he deserts his reason, or complies with their aberrancies. Hence they embrace not Vertue for itself, but its rewards. . . . Their individual imperfections being great, they are moreover enlarged by their aggregation; and being erroneous in their single numbers, once huddled together, they will be Error it self. For being a confusion of Knaves and Fools, it is but natural if their determinations be monstrous, and many ways inconsistent with truth. It had overcome the patience of *Job*, as it did the meekness of *Moses*, and would surely have mastered any but the lasting sufferance of God; had they beheld the mutiny in the Wilderness after ten great Miracles. It is the greatest example of Lenity in our Saviour, when he desired of God forgiveness unto those, who having one day brought him into the City in Triumph, did presently after, act all dishonour upon him, and nothing could bee heard but *Crucifige*, in their Courts. Certainly, he that considereth these things in God's peculiar people will easily discern how little of truth there is in the wayes of the Multitude; and though sometimes they are flattered with that *Aphorism*, will hardly believe, The voice of the People to be the voice of God."—*Sir T. Browne's Vulgar Errors* (1686) *p.* 7-8.

Beeyng set agog to thinke all the worlde otemele ... 329

A singular saying, of which this is an early instance.

The memorie of these [great kings and generals] actes is now cleane extincted, the memorie of Cicero by reason of his most noble bokes is immortall, and shall neuer die while the worlde shall stande ... 339

See this great truth eloquently enforced by Lord Bacon, at the conclusion of the First Book of his Advancement of Learning.

"Lastly, leaving the vulgar arguments, that in learning man excelleth man in that wherein man excelleth beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens and their motions, where in body he cannot come, and the like; let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is, immortality and continuance: for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families; to this buildings, foundations, and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration, and in effect the strength of all other human desires. We see then how far the monuments of wit and

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learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years, or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time, infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished? It is not possible to have the true pictures of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar; no, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages: so that, if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other? Nay further, we see some of the philosophers which were least divine, and most immersed in the senses and denied generally the immortality of the soul, yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirit of man could act and perform without the organs of the body, they thought might remain after death, which were only those of the understanding, and not of the affection; so immortal and incorruptible a thing did knowledge seem unto them to be."

He then goes on to show that, as sows *will* wallow in the mire, mean and little-minded men will prefer grovelling pursuits, and thus concludes:—

"Nevertheless, I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Æsop's Cock, that preferred the barley-corn before the gem; or of Midas, that being chosen judge between Apollo, president of the Muses, and Pan, god of the flocks, judged for plenty: or of Paris, that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power; nor of Agrippina, *Occidat matrem, modo imperet*, that preferred empire with conditions never so detestable; or of Ulysses, *Qui vetulam prætulit immortalitati*, being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency; or of a number of the popular judgments. For these things continue as they have been: but so will that also continue whereupon learning hath ever relied, and which faileth not: *Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis.*"—*Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Book I., pp.* 89-92.

Yes, wisdom *is* justified of her children. This note cannot better conclude than with Lord Houghton's beautiful sonnet:

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"Because the few with signal virtue crowned,
The heights and pinnacles of Human mind,
Sadder and wearier than the rest are found,
Wish not thy soul less wise or less refined.
True, that the dear delights that every day
Cheer and distract the pilgrim are not theirs;
True, that, though free from passion's lawless sway,
A loftier being brings severer cares;
Yet have they special pleasures—even mirth—
By those undreamed of who have only trod
Life's valley smooth; and if the rolling earth
To their nice ear have many a painful tone,
They know man does not live by joy alone,
But by the presence of the power of God."
Lord Houghton.

By hooke or crooke 340

In one way or another. An allusion to the custom of gathering such wood in forests as could be got with a *hook* or a *crook*: that is, the dry and withered branches which might be broken off with a long hooked stick, somewhat like a shepherd's crook; and such branches and underwood as might be cut with a hook, somewhat like a reaper's sickle, but broader in the blade and stronger; it is yet as common as the sickle, and nothing is more usual in rural districts than to hear a man told to "go and hook out" such a bank or corner.

"Nor will suffer this boke,
By *hooke or by crooke*,
Prynted for to be."
Dyce's Skelton's Colin Clout.

"One couetous and vnsatiable cormaraunte and verye plage of his natyue contrey may compasse abowte and inclose many thousād acres of grouude to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, orels other by coueyne or fraude, or by vyolent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries they be so weried that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therfore or by other, other by *howke or crooke* they must nedes departe awaye, pore sylie, wretched soules men, women, husbandes, wyues, fatherles chyldren, widdowes, woful mothers with their yonge babes, and their householde smal in substance, and muche in nombre, as husbandrie requireth many handes."
—*Raphe Robynson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, *sig. c vii.*

On a time bragging and cocking with Antonius, he craked and made vaunte, 340, 367

"*Crakers and bosters*, with Courtiers aduenterous,
Baudes and pollers, with common extortioners,

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Are taken nowe adayes in the world moste glorious :
But the giftes of grace and all wayes gratious
We haue excluded thus live we carnally,
Utterly subdued to all lewdnes and folly."
Barclay's Ship of Fooles, (1570) "*Proeme.*"

Worse ende of the staffe 340

Father of the modern "he has got hold of the wrong end of the stick."

Vse to crie out as if they were in a mylne or a roode lofte 340

A humorous comparison which needs no explanation, but is interesting as a colloquialism used so long ago.

Wise as a capon 341

The above remarks apply to this phrase also.

Oule faced doudes... 344

This word yet survives as "dowdy," and means vulgar, or rather, gaudy and "dirty-fine."

Easie and soso 348

It is but "so-so" or "very middling," a common saying.

Jest of the wine bearing its age well 348

A joke 2,000 years old, which has, in modern days, been attributed successively to a number of "good fellows."

The well known jest of the man who was tied to a sword 349

Another specimen of Roman Wit, now to be found in all collections of the "*Newest*" Jests and Witticisms, and generally attributed to the popular "funny man" of the day.

Good example of a Latin pun 353

The fondness of the Romans for puns has before been pointed out.

Yet another well-known joke of the woman who had said she was thirty years old for the last twenty years... 354

Either Cicero was the author of a great many of the puns and jokes yet current and falsely attributed to modern sayers of "good things," or all the floating witticisms of the time were fathered upon him then, as in modern days, they have been successively, upon Sheridan, Theodore Hook, Douglas Jerrold, &c.

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A small deale 358

=Small portion: "deal" is a part, quantity, or share. "A small dele" and "never a dele"=not a bit,—and not any, were once as common as the modern "great deal," and with as much reason. They occur often in this book.

Carte before the horse 359

A very early instance of this common saying.

Cicero's puns and jokes, a cluster of them: one exactly the same as that on Lord Brougham (Broom) Verro Verres, sweeping, &c. 359

Every would-be wit used to try his hand on Lord Brougham's name, a few years ago, most of them, doubtless, never suspecting either that the same joke had been made in Rome near 2,000 years, or in England 200 years before, as follows:—

(Ode to Ben Jonson, to persuade him not to leave the stage.)

.

"And let those things in Plush,
Till they be taught to blush,
Like what they will, and more contented be
With what *Broome** swept from thee.
I know thy worth, and that thy lofty strains
Write not to Cloths but Brains:
But thy great spleen doth rise
Cause moles will haue no eyes;
This only in my *Ben*, I faulty find
He's angry, they'le not see him that are blind."

Randolph's Poems, 1640, *p.* 65.

Nothing was too hot or too heavy 359

"I spare not to take, God it woot,
But if it bee to hevy or to hoot."

Chaucer, the Freer's Tale (Bell, Vol. II. p. 94.

To drinke wine in the morning nexte the harte ... 359

That is, upon an empty stomach. It appears they thought when wine was so drank, it went direct to the heart, because they found that a very small quantity taken then would produce more effect than when the stomach was full.

Julius Caesar's dandyism 361

"The hear hanging doune so nicely . . . and himself scratting his hed with one finger," is a description few would expect to find of a man who became so famous in many ways. Many great men have been dandies in their youth. The Duke of Wellington was one.

* Richard Brome, the Dramatist.

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Cicero, on censuring a man, being taxed with having formerly praised him, answered that was so, but he had only praised him for practice 362

There is a modern tale of a barrister floating about, very similar to the above, but I don't recollect it just now.

Cato the Uticensian being blamed for drinking all night, Cicero replied that no mention was made of his playing at dice the whole day through 367

This brings to mind the anecdote of Charles Lamb, who when remonstrated with for coming to his office so late in the morning, replied, that was true, but he made out for it by leaving very early in the afternoon.

There is this difference between the two: No doubt Charles Lamb both came late and left early, thus making worse of it: but Cicero's remark was ironical,—he meant that Cato *did not* spend his days in gambling, but about public business; and that his occasional merry-making at night was for the recreation of his mind, jaded and wearied by the labours of the day. In this Cicero showed his usual amiability, and administered a reproof to the carping fault-finder.

Like beareth fauour to like 367

"For it is a prouerbe and an olde sayd sawe
That in euery place *lyke to lyke* wyll drawe."
Barclay's Ship of Fooles, Vol. II., p. 35, *Rp.*

"This is not strange, for everything we find,
Is to its proper species most inclined;
To dogs a bitch seems fairest, and to kine
A bull, an ass to asses,—swine to swine."
Alcinous, (Stanley' lives of Phil.) f. 13.

Sweilbolle 367

Modernized into "swill-tub," a common and proper name for a fellow who drinks more than is good for him.

Came but yesterdaie out of the shel 371

Another saying which is yet quite common. It is very interesting to find how many of our colloquialisms and familiar sayings were current hundreds of years ago.

Phocion the axe of Demosthenes reasons 371

"That same Man that renneth awaie,
Maie again fight, an other daie" 372

Another specimen of the "wisdom of the ancients" thousands of years old, which has been appropriated by several moderns in succession, of whom Hudibras is the most frequently quoted:—

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"For those that fly may fight again,
Which he can never do that's slain."
Butler's Hudibras, Part iii, Canto 3.

"For he who fights and runs away
May live to fight another day;
But he who is in battle slain
Can never rise and fight again."
The Art of Poetry on a New Plan, 1761, *Vol. ii., p.* 147.

When he was once gotten vp, to beare some stroke in the citee, he would haue to doe in euery matter ... 370

"To beare the stroke" has been explained before, at p. 445. Latymer, in speaking of a certain bishop of Winchester, says, "This Bishop was a great man borne, and did *beare such a stroake*, that he was able to shoulder the Lord Protector."—*Latymer's Sermons* (1578) *f.* 36 *verso*.

Demosthenes refused to speak because he had a bone in his throte... 375

"A bone is the excuse frequently made now-a-days for not doing things requested by children. A nursemaid will say to a child who wishes to be carried: "I can't, I've a big bone in my arm."

Demosthenes restored from banishmente 376.

An illustration of Æsop's Fable of the Sun, the Wind, and the Traveller with a cloak.

No morsell for mowyers 379

The sow will teach Minerua 379

To teach our dames to spinne 380

The modern version is, "teach our grandmother to suck eggs;" they have given over spinning. I remember seeing several spinning-wheels at work in old-fashioned farm houses and labourers' cottages, when a boy, but I have not seen one now for the last 30 or 40 years.

To correct Magnificat before he haue learned "Te Deum" 380

But, as our English proverb saith: "Many talk of Robin Hood that never shot in his bow, and some correct *magnificat* that know not *quid* significat."—*Harrington's Orlando Furioso.*

Brought under coram 380

That is Quorum.

"Robert Shallow, Esq^r., In the county of Gloster, justice of peace and *coram*."—*Merry Wives of Windsor.*

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"Religious men are fayne
For to tourne agayne
In secula seculorum
And to forsake theyr corum."
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 325.

A peck of troubles... 380

Another saying yet quite common.

The fingers of the Atheniens ticleed 381

The modern phrase is "their fingers itched to be at it."

Whished and weaxed dumme 319, 381

Suddenly hushed into silence.

To buccle 382

A word yet common, meaning "set to," "git-a-gait" (Linc.), being, no doubt, an allusion to buckling on the harness or armour ready for the fight.

Pilates voice 382

An allusion to the high voice of the performer who acted Pilate in the Miracle Plays, which were not then altogether discontinued.

"*Not all that is great is well, but all that is well is great*" 382

He sometimes loses who gets the victory 382

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